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CALIFORNIA HAS GIVEN the country the good news that Governor Young will not be an exception to the unbroken rule that no one shall twice in succession be governor of that State. We rejoice because it is a just punishment for a man who has shown the utmost cowardice in dealing with the Mooney and Billings cases; who postponed his decision month in and month out, and then shifted the burden of his responsibility to the State Supreme Court. The press associations report that his handling of this case helped to defeat him; it should have done so. From South Carolina comes the encouraging report that Cole Blease, though leading the poll, did not obtain a majority in his fight for renomination to the Senate of the United States, and that this Senatorial defender of lynching and lawlessness will have to try again in a run-off primary, with the odds against him. If ever a politician deserved to walk the plank it is he. In Idaho it looked as if the Democrats were going to pay Senator Borah the compliment of running no one against him, but at the last moment there was a change of plan; a respectable Democrat has been found to make the race and achieve—defeat. From Michigan the indications are that Senator Couzens will win renomination hands down, while in Mississippi the effort to defeat Congressman Ross Collins, the bravest and most outspoken anti-militarist in Congress, was, fortunately for the country, easily defeated. Finally, at its annual conference in Buffalo, the New York State Federation of Labor voted for a new political party by and for labor, contrary to the dictates of the great moguls of the American Federation. These happenings are good omens. They reveal, however, no general trend or popular drift. For this we must await the fall elections.

RAILROAD NET EARNINGS, off 33 per cent during the first six months of 1930 from the corresponding figures of 1929, illustrate clearly a fundamental difficulty of the Transportation Act of 1920. Owners of railroad securities are entitled to a "fair return," now fixed at 5¾ per cent of valuation, but they cannot get it. Valuation itself has proved an almost insuperable stumbling-block, and we are by no means certain yet what the final figures are going to be. Using a tentative figure, the Bureau of Railway Economics calculates the returns of the first half of 1929 at the rate of 5.52 per cent, against only 3.61 per cent this year. Yet any general raising of rates under existing conditions of depression is impossible, even if it were not suicidal. Meanwhile, Mr. F. J. Lisman points out in the current *Railway Age* certain means, including "elimination of the wastes of excessive and forbidden methods of competition," by which he believes the roads could save hundreds of millions of dollars a year, and he suggests that they need to select a "rate czar" who will stiffen their backbone in raising rates where it can be done. Trying to combine private operation of the roads and competition with a fixed return on capital is like trying to eat our cake and have it too.

NOT SO BAD AS REPORTED seems to be the view that must now be taken of the drought. The drought may still be the worst in the nation's history, as it appeared to be at the end of July, and the crops of wheat and corn may be the smallest in years, but the loss in general has apparently been overestimated. Mr. Legge of the Farm Board, who was traveling about the corn belt just as the mobilized bankers were promising more strength to Mr. Hoover's arm, reports that the region of which Iowa is the center "will enjoy almost if not fully as good or better farm incomes this year than in 1929." The region to which he referred includes Nebraska, northern Kansas, northwest Missouri, the eastern portions of the Dakotas, Minnesota, Wisconsin, most of Illinois, and parts of Michigan, Ohio, and Indiana. This does not suggest the appalling calamity for which Mr. Hoover gave up his vacation, summoned the governors of a dozen States, worked out a great scheme of State and county committees, directed the immediate provision of a hundred and a quarter millions of federal road money, and called on the Red Cross to stand by. What one would like to know now is who started the great scare, who saw that it was kept going, and what it was all about. The Department of Agriculture did its bit, but the politician-farmers appear to have done a great deal more, and the newspapers played up the business in great style.

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OF OUR 122,000,000 PEOPLE, one-third, or 41,000,000, are children under sixteen, while there are 38,000,000 men and 37,000,000 women between sixteen and sixty-four, according to a recent radio address of William M. Steuart, director of the census. About 49,000,000 persons reported themselves as having gainful occupation, but probably not more than 40,000,000 to 42,000,000 are ever at work full time on any given day, owing to holidays, vacations, sickness, and unemployment, and our gainful workers do not put in more than 275 days a year on the average. Some 10,000,000 women report gainful occupations, while perhaps 23,000,000 more are keeping house. The 11,000,000 men who are farming constitute less than one-quarter of the gainful workers as against 45 per cent in 1880. Nearly a third of our workers are now in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, while clerical occupations employ about 7 or 8 per cent of the total. Successive censuses only emphasize the rapidity of our industrialization, and indicate the necessity of bringing American thinking abreast of the conditions of 1930, instead of letting it lag in the atomic individualism appropriate to a pioneer agricultural state.

GRAVE WORDS were recently spoken by Dr. Edward Ewing Pratt, former chief of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, based on his observation in foreign countries of the effect of the new tariff on our trade. It has done more damage to that business, he declares, than any other official or unofficial act of the last generation. Pointing specifically to the new Italian duty on motor cars, he says that already the American business ruined in France, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, and Germany alone far exceeds in value any possible benefits that could come from the measure, and he urges that we are driving the British Empire into a scheme of imperial preference fatal to our trade with its members. He calls attention to the incident of 15,000 persons in a small Swiss town solemnly swearing never again to buy American goods, and expresses the belief that a tide of animosity to American business is rising to a degree unimagined by the untraveled American or by "our untutored Congress." On the same day Luis Zuberbuhler, a business leader of Argentina, indicated the bad psychological effect of the Hawley-Smoot measure, and courteously pointed out that further American restrictions on imports from Argentina might drive that country willy-nilly to take measures to decrease Argentinian purchases here. The business community realizes the dangers of this Bourbon tariff monstrosity.

MANY ARE THE WAYS of balancing international claims. If we further embarrass France in paying her debt to us by raising our tariff wall a few more feet, we still allow our tourists to go abroad, and they help mightily to straighten the account. The French economist Meynial has calculated that Americans spent in France last year about $130,000,000. From all foreign visitors France received a total of $400,000,000. What is perhaps most significant in these calculations, however, is the announcement that German tourists this year form a majority of all the foreign visitors. Their presence in such numbers must, of course, raise still further difficulties in the payment of German reparations.

SIR JOHN SIMON'S message to the United States, as expressed in his address to the Federal Bar Association and broadcast over a national radio hook-up, is simply the plea of the Simon report in little, for an understanding of the complexities and difficulties of the Indian problem.

> The difficulty with India's constitutional problem [says Sir John] is that the mass of Indians know nothing of Western political conceptions, and yet the educated minority is urging a rapid application of representative institutions based on Western models in an Eastern continent whose traditions of government are Oriental.

Sir John would undoubtedly reject our interpretation, but this seems to us really an indirect way of saying that Britain's policy has lost the support of the "educated minority" in India, and that British rule, consequently, must rest increasingly on naked force—an understanding that the events of the past six months tend strikingly to confirm. If this be true, the very magnitude and complexity of the problems to be faced render more imperative a prompt understanding with those imprisoned leaders whom the Indians still follow. The Indians have got to solve their own problems; with the best will in the world, the British can never do it for them; with lathis and bombs and machine-guns they can only make solutions impossible. Out of the most sincere friendliness to British and Indians alike, we eagerly look for evidence of an effective desire on the part of the government to cooperate with those who are today the real leaders in India.

A BANKRUPT NATION is unusual these days, but Australia appears to have come dangerously near to that predicament and to be not yet clearly on the road to solvency. Falling prices for wheat, wool, meats, and other staple exports have pulled down the volume of Australian credits abroad from nearly a billion dollars two years ago to somewhat over a fourth of that amount this year, and unemployment, aided by a coal strike in New South Wales, has gravely increased. The result was £36,000,000 of foreign liabilities, chiefly in London, which the Commonwealth was unable to meet. A default has been averted only by the interposition of the Bank of England, which has undertaken to pay the debts as they fall due, the Commonwealth in turn converting the debts into long-term loans to be paid ultimately through a sinking fund. Various financial reforms suggested by a representative of the bank have also been agreed upon, among them a drastic cut in expenditures if the present budget does not balance by the end of September, and a restriction of future loans to public works from which a revenue is assured. A special grant of $5,000,000 to New South Wales has also been made to save that state from financial breakdown. Australia, in other words, has been living beyond its means, voting money freely when times were good, and trusting that the prices of what it had to sell would continue high. Now has come a lean year, and the future must be heavily mortgaged to pay for the extravagance of the past.

GOVERMENTS CHANGE QUICKLY in South America at times, and Peru has just gone through a revolution with all due neatness and dispatch. Just why the former President, Augusto B. Leguia, should have been so suddenly deposed with little more than a show of re-

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sistance is not quite clear, but his successor, Lieutenant Colonel Luis F. Sanchez Cerro, has charged Leguia with maladministration of public finances, an attempt to sell the Peruvian oil resources to foreigners, a huge addition to the public debt, and a censorship of the press. His acceptance of the decision of the Tacna-Arica boundary dispute with Chile appears also to have injured his popularity. The new administration, of course, promises a clean-up. Meantime the former president, who is ill, is a prisoner on an island in Callao harbor with the threat of a trial and a possible death sentence hanging over him—the latter a fate which the foreign diplomats are reported to be trying to avert. With some $200,000,000 of American investments in Peru, the United States has naturally a keen interest in the revolution and its outcome, while the Department of State is concerned over the arrest of Lieutenant Commander Harold B. Grow, a member of the American Naval Mission to Peru and since 1926 director of the Peruvian aviation service, who is threatened with trial by court martial, and of Charles W. Sutton, long in charge of irrigation for the Peruvian government. Unrest is reported also in Argentina, where President Irigoyen is facing serious difficulties.

A READER of *The Nation* in the South begs us to report a dreadful happening in Jackson, Mississippi. There a Negro was arrested for living with a white woman at her volition. When arrested, he was shot in the hand "for attempting to escape." Later a deputy sheriff undertook to remove him from one cell to another. The wounded, unarmed prisoner "lunged against him against the wall of an adjoining cell," according to the Jackson *Clarion-Banner*. What happened next is thus described:

> The light yellow Negro disregarded a warning to halt and Ford drew his gun. The first bullet caught the Negro at the top of the left shoulder. The second struck him full in the chest. He fell forward through the doorway and died almost immediately. . . . Deputy Ford was cleared of all blame by the coroner's jury. Ford acted in self-defense.

The white woman was given six months in prison and a fine of $250. Our horrified reader writes:

> I may tell you frankly that if sex and race had been reversed the man might have been socially ostracized—I doubt even this, but such would have been the severest punishment meted out to him and nothing would have happened to the woman. An individual has usurped the functions of a mob in the killing of this Negro. When things like this happen, I am ashamed that I am a Southerner, and wish that I could blush because I am a native of Mississippi.

SO HENRY MENCKEN is safely married. May all the blessings of that holy state attend our contributing editor and his bride! We confess that our astonishment at the surrender of this confirmed advocate of celibacy is still not done. Is it possible that we may yet hear that he no longer favors the return of the old-fashioned bar with the brass rail and the polished mahogany, and the inevitable spittoons, and all the rest of its chaste appurtenances? Who shall know? Stranger things have happened. All we can say now is that his *American Mercury* reads today as if new life coursed in its veins, with its new and better cover, larger and more readable type, and some strikingly fine articles in the issue just at hand. To Cupid American letters are plainly in debt again.

MAJOR GENERAL HENRY T. ALLEN was not the ordinary type of speech-making general whose sole object is to increase the American military establishment. On the contrary, he resembled the elder generation of soldiers like Sherman, Sheridan, and Grant in his dislike of war. In addition he had moral courage, a warm heart, and a sense of justice which was not circumscribed by his uniform or the boundaries of his country. Hence he was admirably qualified to be the commander of the American forces left in Germany with headquarters at Coblentz, especially as he spoke German and had for four years served as military attaché in Berlin. To Coblentz he took not hatred but sympathy for the conquered, with the result that our army was the best liked of all the forces of occupation, and that the German people today regard him with a deep sense of gratitude. More than that, General Allen had the courage to head the fund to collect money here for the starving German children when it was highly unpopular to do so.

THE DEATH of Lon Chaney removes from the motion-picture world one of its most interesting characters. What seemed the misfortune of his childhood proved one of the chief sources of his later fame; both his parents were deaf mutes, and his later gift for pantomime is attributed to the necessity he faced from his earliest days of conveying his emotions and thoughts by gesture and facial expression. To this training were added intelligence and remarkable pertinacity. His exceptional genius for make-up made his name familiar to everyone, and in his first talking picture he revealed that he could alter his voice almost in the same astonishing way as he had previously altered his face. But like Charlie Chaplin, he continued to believe that pantomime was the peculiar art of the screen. He was probably mistaken in this, but he was not mistaken in his belief that pantomime could still have retained an important place. Unfortunately, like so many other recent inventions, the talkies seem to have become a stern master rather than a useful servant, and the ability to reproduce the voice on the screen has been interpreted to mean that the voice *must* be used, regardless of the consequences.

A SLUMP IN THE PRICE of lions is reported by the New York *Times*, prime stock in excellent condition going at a recent sale in Hamburg for less than 3,000 marks. Giraffes are very cheap, too, and can be had for 20,000 marks a pair, while hippopotami bring 8,000 marks and riding elephants run all the way from 8,000 to 12,000 marks. These columns are not devoted to market tips, but we have no hesitation in advising our readers to lay in their winter's supply of lions and giraffes now while the market is weak. In considering their long-time needs, however, they not only should take into account the gold supply and other influences affecting the general price level, but should remember that the zoological parks are now operating on the bear side of the market. According to Dr. Raymond L. Ditmars of the Bronx Park Zoo, they now know more about their animals than they used to do and so can keep them longer. It's a hard world for the good old law of supply and demand.

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The League Shuns Disarmament

THE Assembly of the League of Nations is again at work. A year has elapsed since it last met. What has it accomplished during the twelve-month on the most important of all issues before the world—disarmament and peace? The answer is—nothing, save that it has sponsored the publication of some figures as to the increasing armaments of the militaristic nations, which figures constitute its own grave indictment. For it has been charged with certain responsibilities under the Treaty of Versailles which created it. In this, its organic act, the chief Powers that sponsored it pledged themselves to disarmament. Eleven years have elapsed. There has been no decrease, but steady increase in expenditures for war. The Geneva report is that no less than $3,750,000,000 was what fifty-three nations, Christian and otherwise, spent in 1929 in preparation for the next war. The officials were reported to be "optimistic" because this disarmament bill was only $100,000,000 larger than a similar bill for 1928! They maintained that optimism in the face of the fact that the world launched 50 per cent more cruisers in 1929 than in the last years before the World War and that it has today three times as many under construction as in 1913. Indeed, during the past year the only action which can be construed as pointing in the direction of limitation of armaments came as the result of action by a non-member—the United States. The League's Disarmament Commission meets, talks, studies, adjourns. It is explained that it is "clearing the ground," "exploring the bases for land disarmament"—"a grave and difficult task." But the fact remains that it rejected with contumely the only clear-cut and sincere proposal to disarm and to disarm at once ever made to it—the Russian plan that was brought to it by M. Litvinov.

The growing danger of war is the complete answer to the excuse that the problem is difficult. Granted that it is, there is no time to lose. It is idle to waste years exploring the bases for scientific disarmament when every preparation for the approaching catastrophe is under way; when the situation between Italy and France is so delicate that the French do not dare even to permit the Minister of War or the foreign military attachés to witness their High Savoy maneuvers near the Italian border lest dangerous military importance be attributed to them. They have not had to be so secretive about some of their other maneuvers. At Lyons, for instance, they have this summer staged a night air attack upon the city under the direct supervision of the General Staff. As far as possible the exact war conditions were simulated. Thus, the populace being notified by sirens that the "enemy fliers" were at hand, took refuge in their cellars and in the specially prepared bomb-proofs, while the city was plunged into complete darkness. The fire department was called out to extinguish pretended blazes, the Red Cross representatives in gas masks took care of "poisoned" and "wounded" citizens, and the "enemy fliers" constantly threw down upon the city articles intended to represent gas or other bombs. The anti-aircraft cannon fired steadily until two o'clock in the morning—in short, nothing was left undone to represent war-time conditions.

With what result? The commanding general, Serrigny, in his official comment upon the maneuvers declared that the anti-aircraft defense had not sufficed to save the city from any massed attack from the air. In recording these facts General Berthold von Deimling, the former German corps commander, declares in the *Berliner Tageblatt* that in every similar instance, notably in recent "attacks" upon Milan, London, and Paris, the result was the same—a complete fiasco on the part of the defense. As for air counter-attacks, General von Deimling declares that there can be no hope of success for the counter-attackers unless there is sufficient advance notice of the attack and the direction from which it is to be expected to enable the defensive blow to be struck at exactly the right time and place before the enemy's objective has been attained. He points out in this connection that the development of the bomber has gone on so fast that it can not only carry the enormous load to be dumped, but can now actually defend itself against attack. General von Deimling thus comes to the same opinion as General von Seeckt, who has just resigned as commander of the German army, that about the only way of counter-attacking is to strike the enemy on his own territory before he can cross the frontier. The future war in the eyes of these experts becomes then nothing but a mad rush by all parties to the conflict to be the first to get their airplanes over the frontiers and to destroy immediately all enemy chemical, automobile, and airplane factories, all flying fields, and important towns.

General von Deimling cannot refrain from asking, in view of this prospect that all important cities that can be attacked will be immediately bombed, gassed, and set on fire, how any military department or general can pretend hereafter that any amount of preparedness will protect any of these strategic points from utter destruction. He is right. The old argument that safety can be secured by a given preparation has been utterly finished. A million infantry scattered along the seaboard, and a full arsenal of anti-aircraft cannon besides, will offer no guaranty whatsoever that Birmingham and Manchester and Edinburgh will not be bombed within twenty-four hours after the declaration of war. "Is it not suicidal mania," he asks, "for the European states with their sensitive industries to destroy their economic life and their culture by poison, by fire, and by shells?"

From his own people the General demands in the coming election a choice of representatives in the Reichstag to form a government absolutely opposed to the ideal of armaments and war. He believes, however, that it is only by the rousing of the masses of the various peoples that safety will finally be attained. He does not mention the League of Nations. We repeat that upon its handling of this question depends beyond all else its success and its usefulness to the human race. It must demand prompt action by the leading Powers; it must make them prove that they were sincere when they signed the disarmament clause of the Treaty of Versailles, when they went to Locarno, and when they signed the Kellogg Pact. If they will not act they brand themselves not only with insincerity and hypocrisy, but with complete responsibility, even now, for the next conflict.

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The Lambeth Bishops

IF organized Protestantism has any message for the world today, one might fairly expect to find it at its best in the conclusions of the 307 "archbishops and bishops of the Holy Catholic Church in full communion with the Church of England" who met in the recent Lambeth Conference at Canterbury. The encyclical letter and seventy-five resolutions of the conference, however, mix progress and extreme conservatism in disturbing proportions. Regarding war and peace the bishops speak out with no reservations whatever. War is condemned as incompatible with the teachings of Jesus, the Paris anti-war pact is cordially commended, and the Christian church "in every nation" is urged, where nations have "solemnly bound themselves by treaty, covenant, or pact for the pacific settlement of international disputes," to "refuse to countenance any war in regard to which the government of its own country has not declared its willingness to submit the matter in dispute to arbitration or conciliation." "The existence of armaments on the present scale" is declared to be a menace to world peace, and an appeal is made for a "determined effort to secure further reduction by international agreement."

Representing as it did an Anglican communion of world-wide extension, the statements of the conference about subject races and the color line are remarkable for the small comfort they offer to imperialists or champions of white superiority. "The ruling of one race by another," the conference declared, "can only be justified from the Christian standpoint when the highest welfare of the subject race is the constant aim of government, and when admission to an increasing share in the government of the country is an objective steadfastly pursued." The "guiding principle" in racial relations should be "interdependence and not competition," and "the realization in practice of human brotherhood postulates courtesy on the part of all races toward one another" and "a complete avoidance of any exploitation of the weaker races such as is exemplified in the liquor traffic among the natives of Africa and enforced labor for private profit." As for the color line, "all communicants," the conference affirmed, "without distinction of race or color," should be admitted to communion, and neither race nor color should exclude any one from worship "in any church."

All these are praiseworthy statements, applicable to preparedness for the next war, to the exploitation of native labor in the British colony of Kenya, and to race discrimination in an Episcopal church in Brooklyn. It would have been well if in other matters the conference could have evinced equal enlightenment. A cautious approval of birth control, quickly seized upon by the press as the most striking of the episcopal pronouncements, is not only hedged about, quite properly, with an earnest plea for the preservation of the family and the safeguarding of children, but is also accompanied by an unqualified condemnation of all sexual relations outside of marriage and by a recommendation that the remarriage of a divorced person whose former partner is living "should not be celebrated according to the rites of the church." A divorced person may, apparently, continue in good standing as a communicant if he or she is adjudged to have been "innocent," but a sacramental remarriage is to be refused if the "guilty" party has unkindly declined to die.

In theological matters, again, the whole tone of the encyclical letter is a reaffirmation of those cardinal points of doctrine which have set the Christian church at variance with modern science and led increasing numbers of persons to eschew religion in any form. The fervent appeal of the bishops for confidence in the essential harmony of science and religion, and for united effort in recovering for the church the youth who have turned their backs upon it, rings hollow when it is perceived that the church, as the Lambeth Conference saw it, has not changed, and that all that the human mind has compassed in new knowledge and experience is looked at as a confirmation of Anglican assumptions.

Nor did the bishops see their way to speak out, save in time-worn generalities, about the glaring evils of the existing social order. Naturally, they discern in the modern world much that is unjust and degrading, but they content themselves with arraigning evil in the aggregate and leave to those who may feel so disposed the specific application. One must conclude that the Anglican bishops, zealous as they seem to be for a society which shall conform to New Testament precepts, have no better method of approach to offer than the services of the Prayer Book and the dogmas of an ancient faith. Old men about to die may salute the formula, and such as care little either way may go on accepting it, but the young men and women who today are demanding truth with liberty are not likely to bow to even a venerable device for keeping up appearances.

Will New York Lead?

THE speech of Governor Roosevelt before the New York State Federation of Labor urging a State-wide system of unemployment insurance is a matter of large importance. The Governor has apparently determined to offer that leadership in the employment crisis which the Administration at Washington has so conspicuously failed to furnish. If intelligent people will back him vigorously, the foremost industrial State in the Union may turn out to be the first one to develop a modern scheme of protection against unemployment.

It should be remembered that Governor Roosevelt's demand for insurance is only one part of the unemployment program to which he is committed. On March 30 last he appointed a committee on the stabilization of industry for the prevention of unemployment. In doing so he said:

> I wish to stress the fact that in appointing this committee I am looking forward to a long-time program for industrial stabilization and prevention of unemployment. We do not expect miracles but rather to assist the employers of this State in a gradual progress toward stabilization based upon authentic American business experience and arising out of and adapted to their own local industrial problem and such methods as their good will and sound business judgment may develop.

The committee on April 21 submitted a preliminary report, making certain limited recommendations as "an immediate, practical contribution to the reduction of unemployment at the present time." In discussing the long-time problem of regularizing employment, it pointed out briefly

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what has already been accomplished by certain individual concerns, and what might be done by local communities and the State. Finally it asked its own continuance until January 1 next in order that it might prepare a comprehensive report. We may therefore hope in due time for a document summarizing the important body of experience already available, and pointing out the next steps to be taken, both privately and publicly, in order to keep men steadily at work. We are aware that work of this kind does not meet the immediate needs of the present crisis. None the less it represents one of the most important things that can be done; for a system of unemployment insurance is solidly founded only when it is built on a sound program for stabilizing employment. Stabilization involves far-reaching organization and ordering of industry, but it must be attained; for if capitalism cannot destroy unemployment, then unemployment will surely destroy capitalism.

Efforts at stabilization, however, basic as they are, are not enough, as the present crisis clearly shows. Hence the Governor calls for "a practical, definite study of unemployment insurance, avoiding, of course, any form of dole, and basing . . . investigation on sound insurance lines under which the State, the employer, and the employee would all be joint premium payers." The details of any such plan are intricate, and the problems it must solve are extremely difficult, but its central principle is clear. The worker today does not and cannot control the conditions of employment; he is likely at any time to find himself out of a job by reason of causes entirely unrelated to his acts and choices. He cannot, then, be left to bear the burden of unemployment. Industry is responsible for the full support of its workers, and the State, through a properly organized system of unemployment insurance, can fix that responsibility where it belongs, and in so doing can put pressure on employers to do their utmost in stabilization. Before all discussion of details comes a clear recognition of this principle, a principle very hard for Americans, with their ultra-individualistic tradition, to accept.

Governor Roosevelt is quite right in saying that he will be called a Bolshevik for advocating a State system of unemployment insurance, but he need not be disturbed by the epithet. Nor is that the method by which thoughtful men will oppose his demand. There are real objections to unemployment insurance, as brought out in European experience, and opponents of that plan, if they are wise, will urge those objections, instead of fighting with epithets. They labor, however, under the fatal handicap of having no adequate substitute to offer in a situation that imperatively calls for action. We know too well today the suffering that exists in millions of homes because of involuntary unemployment; we know that even in the best of times such suffering is never wholly lacking. Unless and until we can actually abolish such unemployment, in a modern democratic society we are bound to provide a means of preventing the suffering and demoralization that that unemployment causes. Nothing short of unemployment insurance on a State-wide (and indeed a nation-wide) scale provides a means of such protection to all workers. Until its opponents can offer a substitute, their objections will prove vain. Governor Roosevelt has performed a great public service in calling for action on unemployment insurance now. The time is ripe. Will New York lead?

Flying High

IF Americans do not become air-minded, it will not be the fault of their newspapers. From the day that Lindbergh landed at Paris, our journalists have eagerly picked up and published, often at great length, every scrap of news that they could get from above ground level. Whether it were a trans-ocean hop, or a cross-continent spin, or a polar journey, or that dreariest of all human activities, an endurance flight, the reporter has been on tiptoe, and every time he has managed to find some element of picturesqueness or interest to carry his story to the front page. The latest conspicuous examples are the flights of Captain von Gronau and Dieudonné Coste, which have been followed in the press with the most detailed attention.

What is the explanation of all this publicity? It may be doubted whether the space given to flying represents simply the judgment of our managing editors with reference either to the actual importance of the subject or to public interest in it, as such interest is ordinarily conceived. It can scarcely be advertising, unless it be the lively hope of favors to come. Somehow, the ordinary explanations don't quite fit. After all, flying still has a spark of romance, in newspaper offices as well as outside. Despite the achievements of the Wright brothers and their successors, most of us still look up into the sky with something of the feeling of Daedalus and Darius Green, and maybe the editors somehow share that feeling. But now, alas, aviation is settling down to the sober business of "transportation by air," to humdrum matters of miles flown and passengers carried and profits and losses incurred. The everyday man begins to think of being a passenger some day himself and that thought gives him a new interest in certain figures recently published dealing with the little understood question of air safety.

A considerable number of ridiculous calculations have been published at various times purporting to show that it is safer to travel by air than by rail. The Actuarial Society of America has just issued an interesting report containing real information. From January, 1927, to March, 1930, the society's committee found, fatalities among passengers on scheduled air lines amounted to one in 5,000. On short non-scheduled commercial flights they came to only one in 50,000. Air travel is somewhat more than 200 times as dangerous as rail, air deaths amounting to one per 1,250,000 passenger miles, and rail fatalities to one per 300,000,000 passenger miles. Of every 1,000 pilots flying on scheduled mail and passenger routes alike, 50 are killed each year. The committee attributes the uniformity on the two classes of lines to the necessity of maintaining schedules in all kinds of weather. The death-rate among licensed pilots last year was 79 per 1,000 among those who had flown less than 400 hours, and only 29 per thousand for those of 400 hours or more of experience. With this year's passenger total expected to reach 200,000 it is encouraging to note the increasing safety of air travel, and the promoters of aviation will be well advised to give the widest publicity to the facts, and not to attempt to hide accidents or to give currency to grotesque and misleading figures. The further progress of the industry will rest securely on a wide public knowledge of the results already attained.

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Revolt in Connecticut

By ALLEN B. MacMURPHY

CONNECTICUT, long as boss-ridden a State as there is in the Union, is witnessing a remarkable revolt in the Republican Party. J. Henry Roraback, chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, Republican national committeeman, political dictator of Connecticut, and president of the Connecticut Light and Power Company—a subsidiary of the United Gas Improvement Company of Philadelphia—is the object of the revolt. Professor Albert Levitt, member of the law faculty of St. Lawrence University and ordained Unitarian minister, and William J. Pape, publisher of the Waterbury *Republican* and *American* and for nearly two decades Mr. Roraback's consistent opponent, are the leaders of the revolt. Professor Levitt is seeking the Republican nomination for governor, and Mr. Pape that for State comptroller. Whether they will succeed at the primaries in September, and in the subsequent State convention where nominations are still made in Connecticut, is doubtful; neither of them expects to win this year; but that they have set in motion a current that will ultimately sweep Mr. Roraback from his leadership of the Connecticut G. O. P. and divorce the utilities companies from Connecticut politics appears certain.

Mr. Roraback's connection with Connecticut politics dates from 1892, when he began practicing law in Canaan; his connection with the utilities interests from 1905, when he organized and became president of the Berkshire Power Company, building a hydro station on the Housatonic River near Canaan. In 1898, having proved his ability as a vote-getter and political organizer in a small way, Mr. Roraback was put on the Republican State Central Committee, on which he has since served continuously. From 1901 to 1910 he was simultaneously a State central committeeman and a lawyer for the New Haven road.

> From 1901 to 1910 [says a friendly article published in the Hartford *Courant* in 1928] Mr. Roraback was counsel for the New Haven road under the railroad's chief counsel, Edwin D. Robbins, protecting it in the legislature against injurious and confiscatory legislation or marshaling the legislators behind bills favorable to the railroad. He carried on this work while a practicing lawyer in North Canaan and through it gained his wide knowledge of men and affairs. . . . With the fall of the Mellen regime in the New Haven road about 1910, Mr. Roraback gave up his law practice and turned his attention to more practical politics and business.

A hint of the nature of the "more practical politics and business" to which the *Courant's* writer refers is given by the late Charles Mellen's testimony at the Interstate Commerce Commission's hearings on the New Haven's finances in May, 1913. After Mr. Mellen had answered questions about the road's political activities in Rhode Island, government counsel quite casually asked him if the road had any lobbyist in Connecticut.

"Oh, yes," replied Mr. Mellen; "a man named Roraback takes charge of things up there. We pay him five or six thousand dollars every two years."

That statement, given under oath, made Mr. Pape see red. Through his newspaper, the Waterbury *Republican*—he did not acquire control of the *American* until after the war—Mr. Pape declared that Mr. Roraback must go. If Mr. Roraback wanted to be a lobbyist, that was not illegal; if he wanted to be chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, that was an honorable ambition; but the two were incompatible. Thus ran the *Republican's* argument. For the moment, the *Republican's* contentions attracted attention; so much so that when Mr. Roraback sought reelection as chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, his friends declared that he was no longer connected with the New Haven. This declaration was taken at its face value, and Mr. Roraback was reelected.

A year later the General Assembly convened. The old railroad lobby was on the job, and Mr. Roraback was obviously its leader. His friends offered the excuse that since the General Assembly had not been meeting when they said he was not working for the railroad, they had told the truth. That was too much for Mr. Pape, who immediately started attacking Mr. Roraback with fresh vigor and has been attacking him in season and out ever since. Incidentally Mr. Pape's argument today is the same that he first made back in 1913: that a man cannot simultaneously serve a favor-seeking corporation and the voters of a major party—the only party that can win in Connecticut under normal circumstances.

This argument has won many converts among Connecticut editors in recent years. Whereas when first uttered Mr. Pape's contention found hardly an echo, today the greater part of the State's Republican press—daily and weekly—is either actively supporting Messrs. Levitt and Pape or remaining neutral. The New London *Day* is the only Connecticut daily of any importance actively opposing the anti-machine movement.

Mr. Levitt entered the Connecticut political scene about a year ago. He had been living on a farm in Redding since 1921—except during the school year. Last year he began attacking the Roraback interests, hitting chiefly at the State Public Utilities Commission, which, he charged, was more interested in serving the State's corporations than its people. Mr. Levitt secured a writ of mandamus ordering the State's attorney general to summon the commission into court to show cause why it should not be removed for neglect of duty in having failed for years to enforce the law regarding grade-crossing elimination. This action followed the attorney general's refusal to grant a petition from a hundred electors requesting action against the commission; that official is now seeking to have the order rescinded. Meanwhile Mr. Levitt began making speeches and statements. Finally he announced his candidacy for the Republican nomination for governor, and got Mr. Pape to run for comptroller on the ticket with him. Messrs. Levitt and Pape are concentrating on those two key offices; they are making no efforts to boom anyone for lieutenant governor.

It is a hard task that they face. Rorabackism is strongly

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intrenched. An instance of the sort of influence Mr. Roraback exerts became public a few weeks ago, when a factory inspector—a salaried employee of the State of Connecticut—was found trying to induce farmers near New Milford to sell to the Connecticut Light and Power a transmission-line right of way across their properties. The Roraback machine has been in power so long that most of the four or five thousand persons on the State pay roll, realizing on which side their bread is buttered, may naturally be expected to work more or less openly and effectively in its behalf. Of course it cannot be proved that the machine has spies at the Levitt-Pape meetings, yet the suspicion that it has is hard to throw off. Certainly no one owing his position to Roraback the political dictator or Roraback the power magnate is likely actively to oppose his wishes! Considering the situation as a whole, it is not unreasonable to estimate that Mr. Roraback can virtually order ten thousand voters to the Republican primaries to smash revolt. To win, then, Messrs. Levitt and Pape must mobilize from twelve to fifteen thousand other voters, distributed throughout the State.

As has been said, it is unlikely that they can accomplish this at the forthcoming primaries and convention. Whether they win or lose, however, they will have made a substantial breach in the Roraback defenses. There are evidences of dissatisfaction with the Roraback regime throughout the State. Such evidences are to be found not only among the rank and file, but also among men in high place who outwardly conform to the wishes of the machine, but who inwardly long for leadership that will enable them to defy Mr. Roraback and his companies with impunity.

The insurgent two appear qualified to furnish such leadership over an extended period. Mr. Levitt is young—only forty-three. He has always led a vigorous life and is in the best of condition physically. Barring accident, there is no reason why he should not be able to fight for years if need be. Mr. Pape, also, is vigorous; only a few years ago he went on a strenuous hunting trip to Alaska, and every year he wrestles with the sportiest peaks in the White Mountains. He has nothing to lose by fighting the machine; he has been out of its good graces nearly twenty years. To drive Mr. Roraback from power is the great ambition of his life. His success in turning one of the weakest of run-down newspapers into one of the most substantial newspaper properties in New England in twenty-nine years has demonstrated his ability as an organizer and his bulldog tenacity.

"Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad," says an old proverb. Signs of approaching political madness on the part of Mr. Roraback are not hard to descry. The source of his power has always been on the farms and in the small villages where Republican majorities are rolled up in Connecticut. At the last session of the General Assembly Mr. Roraback turned his thumbs down on proposals to appropriate State funds to put the back roads in passable condition—roads which are not part of the splendid Connecticut trunk-line system, but over which farmers must take their products to market. This disregard of an urgent need of Connecticut agriculture has led to formation of a State-wide organization to force measures for dirt-road improvement through the next legislature.

Mr. Roraback aroused still more indignation when the Connecticut Light and Power put into effect the service charge which adds substantially to the bill of every private consumer of electricity produced by that corporation. Whether justly or not, Mr. Roraback is blamed for this. The fact that the Connecticut Light and Power has been absorbed into the U. G. I. system does not lessen popular indignation at the service charge.

To complete the picture, it is necessary to say a word about Mr. Roraback's part in the inception of the Connecticut Light and Power. In 1905—"with characteristic foresight," says the *Courant's* laudatory article previously quoted—Mr. Roraback obtained a charter, in the name of the Rocky River Company, to develop the water-power resources of the Housatonic River. At the time, the Rocky River had no plant, no capital, no electric light business. Mr. Roraback carried the charter in his pocket for twelve years. In 1917 he interested Randall Morgan of Philadelphia, prominent utilities promoter, in the project. From that interest grew the Connecticut Light and Power Company. The Waterbury *Republican* has stated editorially, and so far as known no attempt to refute it has ever been made, that Mr. Roraback sold the Rocky River charter, which granted unusual privileges, to the Connecticut Light and Power for seventy-five thousand dollars in cash and a position as vice-president in charge of land at an annual salary of eighteen thousand dollars. Whether this is true or not—and, as has been said, the statement has not thus far been denied—Mr. Roraback is today president of the Connecticut Light and Power.

Some Connecticut citizens profess to see a joker in the Levitt-Pape revolt; they contend that it is a terrific attack against a straw man, that Mr. Roraback wishes nothing so much as to retire from politics. That Mr. Roraback wishes to retire is probably true; he has had every honor his party can bestow save chairmanship of the Republican National Committee, and for this he can hardly hope. A charming man personally, a lover of books and flowers, Mr. Roraback would undoubtedly like to go back to his home among the Litchfield hills, far from the hurly-burly of politics. This, however, does not make the Levitt-Pape revolt a joke. When Roraback retires, someone will take his place; will that someone be another power-company man, groomed by Roraback and turning to him for advice, or will he be an independent leader picked by the rank and file of Connecticut Republicans?

It is vitally important for the Republican leader in Connecticut to be a man independent of favor-seeking corporations. As has been said, the Republican Party is the only party that can win in Connecticut under normal circumstances. It may or may not be true, as Mr. Levitt has charged during his campaign, that collusion exists between Mr. Roraback and leaders of the Democratic State Central Committee. The half-hearted support given to Hamilton Holt in his campaign against Hiram Bingham for the United States Senate prior to the special election of December 16, 1924, lends color to the charge. Whether collusion with Mr. Roraback and the forces he represents exists or not, to rely on the Democracy for cleaning up Connecticut is to lean on a broken reed; the Presidential election of 1928, when Governor Smith was beaten by Mr. Hoover by 44,405 majority, shows this conclusively. Whatever reform comes to Connecticut in the next few years—probably the next decade, at least—must come through the Republican Party.

The issue is clearly defined. It is the issue that is con-

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fronting the voters of State after State as they awaken to realization that the electric utilities are edging into the political position which the railroads held a generation ago. Neither Mr. Levitt nor Mr. Pape is afraid of an occasional reverse; each has had to overcome seemingly insuperable obstacles to attain his present prosperity and influence. If victory is not achieved this year, it probably will not come two years hence, as Connecticut Republicans are accustomed to bury their hatchets in Presidential years. But four years hence, barring some unforeseeable developments, the final divorce of the electric utilities from the Republican Party in Connecticut may reasonably be expected.

Is England Played Out?

By ALICE M. CAMERON

> There are indications today [in England] of a mortal disease of the soul which if sufficiently advanced may at last corrode the character, a combination of sloth, resistance to change, blindness, defeatism, and excessive temporizing which suggest a sick or exhausted civilization.—NICHOLAS ROOSEVELT.

IN view of this judgment by an American writer, it is worth while describing for American readers certain important tendencies in English working-class life. I shall interpret them in the light of concrete changes of attitude among the workers of a town (to be called X) of 70,000 situated in the East Midlands, a center of engineering and saw-mills, in which I have lived for the past eight years. It is in the low-paid agricultural area; the wages of labor are below the average; and the oppressive atmosphere of a cathedral town has hampered the progress of the workers.

The first point to be noted is the amazing decrease of crime in the past ten years throughout England. Twenty-four prisons have been closed in less than twenty years. Their number has been halved since the beginning of the century. Pentonville and Maidstone prisons are now to be torn down and the sites used for model dwellings. The figures are signs of a revolution in the attitude of the worker toward the law. The old attitude was one of class solidarity against the law and its representatives, the police. Obedience and law observance were a matter of fear. Since the war a new attitude has developed, and new relations of mutual confidence and understanding have grown up between workers and police.

In the town of X there has been an unemployed population for the past eight years of from 2,000 to 3,000; yet crime has decreased so much that on more than one occasion the judge of the Assize court on circuit has found no case to try. During the general strike thousands of excited strikers thronged the streets, holding meetings and listening to speeches. The chief of police was directed by headquarters to enrol special constables for the emergency. He rang up the local officials of the trade unions on strike and asked them to appoint their own specials. They readily agreed. No other specials were appointed, and not a single case of lawbreaking occurred. In place of the old-time mutual suspicion between police and unemployed, we have now such institutions as the Police Boot Fund, managed jointly by policemen and unemployed, for providing the children of the latter with boots. The police collect from the public, while a committee of the unemployed attend to the distribution, their labors being unobtrusively checked by the policemen. No less striking are the classes in economics and history conducted by workingmen of the Workers Educational Association in the local prison with no prison officials present. There is a growing understanding of the value of standards of law and order on the one side, and a greater sympathy on the other, leading to experiments in cooperation hitherto undreamed of.

A second significant fact is the percentage of voters voting at the last election. In X it was 86 per cent, for the whole country over 82 per cent. Making allowance for sickness and removals, this means that practically every citizen voted. What attitude of the workers lies behind this? First, a continuous interest in public affairs. Sunday evening meetings are held weekly at X at which members of Parliament and trade-union leaders speak on current political problems. The theater, holding over two thousand, is usually packed with workers. Interest is not dependent on sensational propaganda. The Labor candidate at X, at the last election, sent nothing whatever to the electorate beyond a short appeal to them to think for themselves and study the records of the parties. He was returned with a majority increased by 3,000. The Labor Party could afford very little advertisement. In X, as elsewhere, all the work of the election on the Labor side, from addressing and delivering poll cards to canvassing and speaking, was done by volunteers of the working class, and expenses were met by the collections at meetings. A thoroughly intelligent and responsible electorate is emerging, due not to organization from above but to spontaneous development from below.

An important factor in this development has been the invasion of political affairs by the working-class wife and mother. Before the war such women were chained bodily and mentally to household drudgery; they are now attending weekly meetings of political, cooperative, educational groups run by the women themselves. One political party in X has six women's sections meeting weekly; the cooperative guild has eight. The growth of women in self-confidence, initiative, and civic responsibility is nothing short of amazing. For example, at one time they organized a mass meeting outside the town hall while the election of senior medical officer was going on. They wished to support an Indian doctor of whom they had had experience in a subordinate position, and they were afraid of color prejudice among the upper-class members of the council. It has long been customary to praise the unselfish devotion, economic ingenuity, and dogged courage of the working-class wife and mother. Now all this fund of character and good sense is gradually being diverted into public service.

Third, attention should be called to the facts of adult education. Classes of all kinds have increased by thousands

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since the war. In X the number of tutorial classes has increased from one to six. These are three-year courses at which a weekly essay and considerable reading is required. Men from these courses who have had no high-school education are able to read for honors on admission to such colleges as Balliol and New College, Oxford. Men are going from the workshop to Oxford and back again. The special feature of these classes, aside from the high standard of work, is their democratic self-governing character, and their tendency as a group to organize public service in various forms. For instance, besides the lectures at the prison above mentioned the senior members organize and deliver courses of educational talks in the villages during the winter, while others go out to hold open-air meetings for the Labor Party during the summer. Permanent personal friendships are thus built up between town and country groups. A similar group of workers set up the People's Service Club for cooperation between employed and unemployed. The club established workshops on self-governing and educational lines in which unemployed members worked *for nothing,* for the benefit of the needy. Great difficulty was experienced at first in launching the scheme, but insight was gained by personal friendship and persistent experiment, and the club has robbed unemployment of its worst terrors for the workers of X.

To return to the cultural aspects of education: Hamilton Harty, one of the leading conductors of symphony orchestras in England, said recently that the most joyful experience of his life was the emergence of a new audience for the best orchestral music from the working class. He believes that the spread of good gramophone records and the high standards of the state-controlled radio programs are responsible for arousing this taste, which seeks further satisfaction in the concert hall. In X there are classes in theory of music organized by the workers, and a workers' art group which meets weekly to paint in oil and water color, and holds frequent exhibitions. Dramatic and play-reading groups are also popular.

In all these fields there is a spontaneous and growing movement which expresses itself in three inter-related ways. First, there is search for higher standards, an eagerness to enjoy the best and most difficult things. I once warned a philosophy class early in the session against reading Kant's Ethics till later in the course on account of its difficulty. Immediately a large number of copies went off like hot cakes. "Philosophy teaches you to doubt everything," said a tinplate worker, "but it also teaches you not to mind doubting." Another man, an unskilled laborer, related how he had waked in the night, and, suddenly realizing what Bergson meant in a certain passage, was so excited that he got up and paced the streets. Such persons are, of course, a minority, but a leading and respected one. They are called, not "high-brow," but, in local slang, "far-on," and are consulted by the others in any emergency.

Second, the movement creates more personal and intimate relations within and between groups. These are tending to become groups of friends with mutual confidence and appreciation, and the resulting elasticity and constructiveness. Further, there is a tendency of groups of different kinds to cooperate, as, for instance, employed with unemployed, town with country workers, police and workers, men and women, the members of each group retaining their individual character but finding new forms of cooperation through mutual confidence.

Third, an interest in public affairs shown in a readiness to undertake unpaid service for the community and the desire to learn more in order to understand the issues better. All these tendencies reinforce one another, as in the prevailing desire to travel in Europe in order to learn to know the workers there and to cooperate with them. The added year of compulsory schooling, making it possible for all workers to learn a foreign language, should lead to great developments in this field.

Can such a movement be called civilization? Not perhaps if by civilization is meant the highest standard of attainment yet realized by a select few. If, however, we mean progress in a certain direction which is likely, if it continues, to attain such standards, a good case could be made for this contemporary movement. English civilization at its best has always expressed itself, not only in craftsmanship and science, but in forms of disinterested public service and in social relations. The same tendencies, we have seen, are now stirring the whole people to find new expression. The fact that the civilization they attained would be for perhaps the first time in history a democratic civilization would give it a character hitherto unknown.

What are the chances of such a development? The movement is not a self-conscious attempt to reach a level imposed by others for reasons extrinsic to the activity, but a hearty desire to exercise new capacities and to enjoy them, whether the outside world notices it or not. The movement has in fact escaped notice because it has been too much absorbed in its own progress to advertise itself. Another factor which may guarantee continued progress is the constant self-criticism that prompts to further efforts. Any progress is assimilated and taken for granted, while suggestions for new possibilities and experiments are eagerly welcomed. It is difficult to convey the fact that the urge in all this is not as in the past a "myth" of any kind but rather a spontaneous impulse to promising experiment on the basis of enjoyed achievement. It is not the dream of something happening to them but the fun of making it happen and seeing what will happen next, on a small scale at first but a gradually widening one, which inspires alike dejected out-of-works, drudging housewives, and artisan students. The observer gets a sense of a present adventure dynamic and enjoyable. It is tempting to speculate on what will happen when this zeal for higher aesthetic and scientific standards, this more subtle and free way of cooperation, and this serious public spirit find full scope inside the workshop as well as outside.

How far do these advances and their continuance depend upon material prosperity? Owing to the decline in the export trade of certain basic industries, such as coal and cotton, the financial prosperity of the country has been declining since the war while these gains were taking place. Wages in nearly all industries have been lowered since the war (those of engineers after the lockout of 1912, for instance), and yet the progress has gone on. The skilled worker even now is slightly better off in real wages than before the war, but in the case of the unskilled the increase is very slight, and for the unemployed the standard of living is below that of any pre-war employment. Yet in both these classes the diminution of crime and the virtual disappearance of drunkenness, as well as other signs, indicate improvement. That

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such progress does not, in its initial stages at least, depend upon any increase in financial means is plain if we consider its different expressions. One of these is the active interest in political organization and enterprise. Here the keenness of the participants enables their activities to proceed with a minimum of financial expense. The services paid for by other parties are performed by volunteers. Again, the building up of new types of social relations is independent of financial increase. The People's Service Club (of the unemployed) has no entrance fee or subscription and pays nothing to its members for their work, and its "spirit" and influence largely depend on that fact. The same thing might be said of the educational movement. It is run at a minimum of cost through the disinterested services of those concerned. The improvement of taste in clothes, furniture, and personal habits which is so striking in comparison with pre-war standards is not due to the workers being able to buy more expensive goods, so much as to their exercising better choice and learning to make better things for themselves. The revival of handicrafts has been very marked since the war in the villages, but it has also occurred in the towns, where workers are eager to beautify their homes. The initiation of such a movement does not depend on increased financial prosperity, but rather on improved education and more leisure. Once aroused, the movement seems able to develop, whatever the standard of living, by using resources in new ways discovered by intelligence, cooperative enterprise, and volunteer service. New sources of interest and enjoyment are also discovered, and their discovery sets a new standard of active happiness and skill. English workers have always been strong at making the best of things. An examination of the programs of trade unions, cooperative guilds, and labor parties shows that both their avowed ideals and their practical projects have more to do with social conditions and opportunities than with wages proper. Their highest and most inspiring ideal is workers' control of industry, and their immediate objects include abolition of overtime, better status, and provision of adequate holidays.

On the other hand, many facts point to the importance of the financial element. Both skilled and unskilled workers limit their families in order to maintain their standard of living. A small family of one or two children means to the skilled worker the possession of a small surplus over bare living expenses, and for the unskilled worker an amount of food and clothing just adequate instead of inadequate. Further, the better-paid workers usually develop their tastes and capacities still further by the use of their added means. Typical cases in my knowledge are a bricklayer who practices cabinet making as a hobby and has furnished his house with beautiful pieces, and another who spends his additional means on [illegible]. Some observers fear that a rise in the civilization of the workers is likely to divert them from economic progress, while others are afraid that high wages will make the workers content to be wage slaves. Fortunately or unfortunately, the dangers of prosperity are not at present acute in England; but there can be no doubt that enormous progress is possible at the existing material level, and all signs seem to show that such progress is likely to continue.

Fascist Sympathies in the United States

By E. C. LINDEMAN

IT is, of course, well known that Fascism has many friends in the United States. Fascism would, indeed, seem to many a system of social control admirably suited to serve as team-mate for our other authority, namely, efficiency. With these twin gods harnessed together we might eliminate all criticism of the present order; we might then stamp out the last vestiges of chaotic democracy and confused liberalism. Of course, it would be necessary, if all of this were to be accomplished, to deny our past and, perhaps, to discover a symbolic Mussolini who could induce enough people to wear black shirts to frighten the rest of the population into submission. These accomplishments, although they seem grotesque in view of our historic aspirations, could be realized, provided (a) enough people could be led to believe that Fascism represents a guaranty for efficiency, and (b) a sufficient amount of sympathy for the Fascist experiment in Italy could be generated among the citizenry here.

The devices which alter and enlist collective sympathies are surprisingly subtle, almost paradoxical in their operations. How, for example, is one to explain why both England and the United States now entertain greater sympathies for Germany than for their former ally, France? How is one to explain the fact that Soviet Russia admires capitalistic United States and despises labor-governed England? Ready explanations, of course, exist, but they are for the most part too superficial, too unpsychological. Certainly there is nothing in the historic development of the United States which might lead anyone to believe that leaders here could be sympathetic toward a repressive, absolutist dictatorship such as Italy now suffers under Mussolini. The fact remains, however, that such sympathies do exist, and, moreover, are cultivated by most subtle means. In what follows I have attempted to indicate how the press may purposely or unwittingly contribute to a potential sympathy for Fascism among American citizens.

In the issue of the New York *Times* for June 1 its Rome correspondent affirms that the cause of current friction between Italy and France derives from the problem of anti-Fascist refugees now residing in France. This correspondent assumes that France not only extends hospitality to anti-Fascist "plotters" but that its courts are wilfully lenient and complacent about crimes committed by such persons. This equation, obviously, elevates Fascists to the level of martyrdom. It is well calculated to enlist sympathies and at the same time provide Fascism with fresh international support. If it can be successfully maintained, or rather, if naive readers can be led to believe that France is officially on the side of anti-Fascist refugees in its midst, France becomes, ipso facto, a villain while Italy becomes

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heroic. Nothing more than this is needed to begin a drift of thought and sentiment in the direction of Fascism, and, it might be added, in the direction of future international conflict.

To what degree do the facts in the case, as far as these may be discovered and impartially interpreted, conform with the above assertions of the *Times* correspondent? Perhaps a dozen Fascists, including one consular official, have been killed between 1923 and 1930, not by "Italian anarchists and communists" as the *Times* correspondent carelessly affirms, but by anti-Fascists. Considering the total number of Italians now living in France, Belgium, and Luxemburg, probably one million, and the nature of the provocation, this is a small number indeed. Many of these Italians have, of course, been compelled to leave Italy on account of Fascist persecutions; these persons are frequently followed by espionage, under consular auspices, and some of their families continue to live under persecution at home. Given such conditions, it is in reality surprising that so few aggravations have led to murder.

There are, in addition, strong evidences that the Italian government itself employs *agents provocateurs* for the very purpose of stirring up trouble with anti-Fascists abroad. In the autumn of 1923, for example, one Amerigo Domini (later associated with the murder of Matteoti, if not, indeed, his assassinator) admitted the receipt of 30,300 lire paid by Signor Finzi, under-secretary of the Foreign Office, for the purpose of giving "a lesson to the anti-Fascist émigrés." Some of Domini's followers came with false passports, furnished by the Italian police. Happily, they did not at that time carry out their mission but returned safely to Italy after visiting the cafes of Montmartre. Had they then attacked anti-Fascists in Paris, Mussolini no doubt would have cried out that his heroes were being murdered.*

On November 2, 1929, the Fascist paper *L'Impero* proposed that the Fascist provocations in France be more systematically organized. "Battles will start," so the article read; "the (French) government will decide to deport all the aliens causing trouble to their native country." It would, of course, please Mussolini immensely if the French government should turn over to him a certain group of refugees. Those who have in the past been participants in brawls, mostly poor and unknown workers, he does not want; he wants those who are the "causes of the discrepancies," a few outstanding Italians who have no connection with crimes but whose intelligence and political ideals he fears.

As far as the charge that the French courts treat anti-Fascist criminals leniently goes, there seems to be little evidence. In fact, this charge of the *Times* correspondent raises the whole question of who these so-called anti-Fascist "plotters" in France really are. The first of these events, the "Garibaldi plot," occurred in 1926, and the second, the "Menapace plot," in 1929. With respect to the first, it seems clear that Ricciotti Garibaldi was a spy and *agent provocateur* paid by the Fascist government. His mail was addressed to the Italian Ambassador, Baron Avenzana, and it appears to have been proved that his payments came through a trusted Fascist policeman named LaPolla. On October 5 Garibaldi met with three anarchists whom he enlisted in a plot to assassinate Mussolini. On October 14 he asked one of these conspirators to carry some letters to the Grand Master of the Freemasons at Rome; at the same time he transferred a photograph of this "plotter" to policeman LaPolla. The plotters decided at the last moment to remain in France. Garibaldi was arrested in France in November and confessed the details of this "plot." The so-called "Menapace plot" belongs to the same category. An Italian anarchist, Berneri by name, was arrested in Brussels on December 20, 1929; he was charged with having gone to Brussels for the purpose of assassinating Signor Rocco, the Italian Minister of Justice, who was expected in Brussels at this time. Berneri had in his possession some photographs, or pictures, of Signor Rocco and a revolver. An Italian refugee in Paris, Alberto Cianca, was also involved in this plot. Inquiries by the police in both Belgium and France indicated that this plot had also been engineered, this time by a Fascist agent, Ermanno Menapace. Indeed, it was he who supplied Berneri with the pictures of Rocco and the revolver; he actually brought Berneri to Brussels in his automobile. There he notified the police and immediately left for Italy. The Belgian courts convicted Berneri, not for "plotting" but for traveling with a false passport and carrying a weapon without a permit; he was sentenced to five months in jail. The Paris courts sentenced Cianca for three months, Berneri for six, and Menapace himself for two years. The last French conviction resulted in a ten-year sentence imposed upon an anti-Fascist named Pavan; he had killed an Italian spy. The French jury did not sentence him to death because it found many extenuating circumstances.

The above facts, although based upon official records of French courts, cannot be verified to suit every test of evidence, but they at least have the merit of being specific and may, therefore, be investigated. What they reveal is that blanket and question-begging terms such as "anti-Fascist plotters," "French leniency toward anti-Fascist criminals," and the like convey no accurate meaning. These are words which are intended to stir sympathies and precipitate convictions. When they appear in a reputable newspaper readers are likely to make the assumption that they stand for real facts. How much more consistent would it be if American correspondents abroad attempted to interpret the news of Europe in the light of the essential American tradition! We were once, let it not be forgotten, the nation which offered asylum to political refugees. It was integral to our whole experiment that those who were oppressed by anti-democratic governments abroad might find shelter here. Indeed, in the early days we made excellent use of such émigrés. If we have now become a frightened nation, too timid to allow for difference and criticism, might we not, in view of our past, at least refrain from making trouble for other nations where political refugees are welcomed? The chief import of the article by the Rome correspondent of the *Times* was its apparent appeal to France to bar anti-Fascist refugees. And this, it seems, is a sorry role for an American to play. If this particular correspondent wishes to place himself at the service of Mussolini, this is, of course, his affair, but when he attempts to influence American citizens in the same direction he performs a public function, and this is not wholly his affair.

* A royal decree of August 10, 1927, enacts that anyone "who in a foreign country sustains injury to his health in any conflict or assault while acting directly or indirectly for a national aim is entitled to a pension." No distinction is made, of course, between "injury" received while attacking without being provoked and injury suffered in legitimate self-defense.

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Cut Your Own Rent

By ROSWELL WARD

TWO significant contrasts in city housing development are rising in the old Chelsea district of New York City. One of them is the ultimate expression of traditional landlordism, a business project yielding business profits, and said to be the largest apartment house in the world. A few blocks away is the pioneer cooperative apartment of the Consumers' Cooperative Services, Inc.—a project having many features new to American housing practice—which will provide modern apartments *at cost* in a central metropolitan area where real estate (and apartments) ordinarily command high rentals. These two buildings represent divergent economic trends: housing as a business, at a profit, versus housing as a cooperative enterprise, at cost.

Cooperative housing is not a new thing in the United States. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers and other organizations have built great cooperative apartment houses which have been very successful, but this first housing project of the Consumers' Cooperative Services is organized to provide an unusual degree of security and flexibility for the tenant's investment, and to offer apartments of modern type in a location which compares most favorably with that of even the most expensive "commercial" apartment houses. In this respect it follows very closely the practice as typified in the immense cooperative housing projects carried on in European countries.

It is the first cooperative housing plan in this country to be sponsored by a cooperative organization which is actively carrying on other cooperative enterprises. The Consumers' Cooperative Services has been notably successful over a period of years in operating a chain of cafeterias and food shops which charge prices sufficient to insure a small working margin and then periodically rebate the difference between income and cost of operation to their 3,500 members. This service at cost is the basic principle of all genuine cooperative activities, both here and abroad.

Consider for a moment the expenses involved in a new cooperative apartment-house development. The cost of the land and building is shared between the mortgage holders, the parent organization, if any, and the tenants. In the cooperative houses already constructed in this country by independent groups the initial costs have necessarily been financed by short-term loans, and after the land has been acquired about 50 per cent of the cost of the entire project has been obtained by mortgages on the land and building. The other 50 per cent of the initial cost has been invested by the tenants, who are ordinarily stockholders in a tenant organization actually owning the land and building.

In the Consumers' Cooperative house, however, the tenants pay only 28 per cent of the cost of construction, all the organization costs being carried by the parent cooperative, which retains ownership of the house and leases it on a fifty-year lease to the tenants' organization. The form of the tenant's investment is a fifty-year lease on his apartment and a mortgage on the property. As mortgage-holders the tenants are given greater security for their investment than if they were stockholders, while the parent cooperative assumes the risks of actual ownership and, in case of future increase in the value of the property, is enabled to apply this increase to the extension of its cooperative activities. In case of losses, however, the tenants are protected and the cooperative organization must shoulder the loss. This is another of the unique features of this house.

This arrangement also illustrates the value of affiliating a housing project with a parent cooperative organization, as we have the Consumers' Cooperative Services buying the land and underwriting all the initial expenses. About one-third of the cost of the project is supplied by a first mortgage from the Bowery Savings Bank. A second mortgage is held by members of the Consumers' Cooperative Services, who can buy second-mortgage bonds in units of $100 apiece. The balance of the capital required is supplied by the tenants themselves, who are third-mortgage bondholders.

The real benefits of cooperative housing are not so apparent in these organization preliminaries, however, as they are when one considers the "rent" or monthly charges which the tenants are required to pay. Can one imagine the average owner of a commercial apartment house displaying to his tenants a schedule of his actual operating costs—the interest which he pays on his mortgages and his own investments, his insurance, his accounting and legitimate management expenses, the cost of janitors and maintenance help—and thus basing his rent on the actual *cost* of the apartment house?

This quixotic state of affairs actually exists among cooperative tenants. No one can make a profit on this house; only the nominal legal rate of interest is paid to defray the cost of financing it; the book-keeping and supervisory duties are assumed by tenants who receive a limited stipend; the only person who gets a salary is the hired janitor; apartments cannot be sub-let at a profit; and absentee ownership of apartments is not permitted.

This apartment house is a pioneer expression of all the principles of consumers' cooperation which have been shown by American and European experience to be desired in housing activities. It is sponsored by a cooperative organization of broad scope; the tenants are limited in the amount of initial investment they have to make and secured to a greater degree than if they assumed the risk of actual ownership; they pay only the actual cost of operating the house; they manage it themselves; they have one vote apiece, irrespective of the amount of their investment; and they can redeem their original investment at any time. They receive no direct return on the initial investment which they are required to make, but if the interest on the tenant's investment is added to his monthly charge, the total is estimated to be from 25 per cent to 50 per cent less than the rentals current in commercial apartment houses. Of course success cannot be attained without honest, efficient, and economical management, and it is to this point that the efforts of cooperators must be directed. Is it possible that cooperative housing may be the spearhead of an American adaptation of cooperative enterprises which will approach the magnitude of the great European cooperative organizations?

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Cluckings of Calvin

Translated by HERBERT FORDHAM

July 1. Brethren, let us stop finding fault.

2. The founders of this country were concerned chiefly with things that are eternal. Let us be like them.

3. If every one now working will pay his bills and buy whatever he needs and can afford, the unemployment problem will be solved.

4. We all are dependent on one another.

5. Congress has adjourned. It will be criticized. This will do little good. Anyhow, it might have done worse.

7. Our tourists will spend a lot of money in Europe this season. Maybe it will be all right.

8. Our moral power at the London conference was great because we did not insist on superiority to Great Britain but only on parity.

9. If we learn that the Farm Board cannot fix prices by buying up wheat, we shall learn a lesson worth whatever it costs.

10. No matter how much some people may have lost, an end has not come to the progress of the United States.

11. Most people have failed because they did not really try.

12. Foreign nations should not object to our increased duties on imports. They ought to know that the higher the tariff the greater the imports.

14. Now that the German bond issue is subscribed for and Congress has adjourned, the business of the world can go on.

15. The granting of the first charter to the Colony of Massachusetts Bay has changed the whole foundation of human relationship.

16. Self-government in the United States during the last decade has been a success.

17. In spite of all efforts for peace, the nations are arming more heavily than before the war. Only the United States is doing right.

18. We should support the President whether he be right or wrong.

19. Everybody is partly good and partly bad. We should perfect ourselves before criticizing others.

21. The South is improving.

22. People should build more homes. To build now may or may not be best, but the present seems to be a good time.

23. We did well to ratify the naval treaty.

24. For a long time we have maintained a higher standard of living than have other nations. Perhaps we can keep on doing so.

25. If it appears that the Amtorg agents have been trying to overthrow our government, proper action will be taken.

26. During the vacation season, many will enjoy our natural scenery but some will prefer to visit the old home.

In the Driftway

IT was a Princeton friend of the Drifter's who remarked at Oberammergau that if the Americans didn't seize Germany in 1918, they have certainly done so this summer. A year ago the Drifter was repacking his rucksack and drifting away from laughter-loving Bavaria to a region unsought of his countrymen. His friend's remark brings it all back by contrast as though it were today.

* * * * *

ESTABLISHED in darkest Junkerland, the Drifter feels in a uniquely authoritative position for writing a modish biography of Bismarck. In this wide country, with its low rolling hills of beech and white birch and hemlock, where the ground is sand where it's solid, and peat-bog where it's not, things are as they used to be. The Drifter's host and his forebears have lived seven hundred years on this estate. The Junkers may not be good political neighbors, but they're mighty nice to their friends. The Baroness makes with her own hands a Christmas present for every child on the estate, and there are twenty-five families, many of them large. Everything for the household is a home product—an old peasant woman still weaves the family towels, the lady of the manor superintends all the sausage-making; they bake their own bread in straw-heated stone ovens (bread as *is* bread). And yet there are changes: things have never been quite the same since Bismarck died.

* * * * *

TWO more guests besides the Drifter at the Baron's table—two geologists, one of whom has invented a new sort of divining rod for minerals. They are going to look over the place for mineral wealth. While they "witch for gold" the Drifter, feeling as if he were in one of Freytag's stories, leaves the old hall, where one hundred and fifty roebuck horns decorate the chimney, and the carved spiral staircase winds its way upstairs (the only stairway in the house, and worthy the renown of that celebrated one in the French dictionary, "winding stairs pronounced *ou-in-dignesterze*") and takes his way past the great gardens, down the long cherry alley. The gold-seekers are intent on a recently harvested grainfield, where the divining rod indicates gold. Three peasants are set to digging. About six feet down they come to some bright metallic flakes. The Drifter recalls the enterprising alchemist who hopefully set about transmuting into gold New York harbor or the waters thereof. Though he did not succeed, his abandoned laboratory later made a pleasant study for the Drifter.

* * * * *

IT was that kindly soul the Bürgermeister who drove the Drifter along the Polish boundary, that fantasy of Versailles. The road suddenly halts, barricaded by a black-red-gold fence, next comes a hundred-yard stretch of grass, then a red-white-red fence and a Polish guardhouse, and then the road "takes up" again in Poland. The railroad tracks run exactly to the German border, there is a heap of earth across them, some beams on end, thirty feet of bare railroad bed, and then tracks again. The major local iniquity is a lake around which the boundary runs, about twenty feet on the German side of the shore, to prevent the

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German peasants from watering cattle in the lake. At Rauschendorf, on the lake, the international boundary runs down the middle of the village road. (The Drifter, sitting on the right side of the car, unexpectedly made his first appearance in Poland.) The village is thus half Polish and half German, and every time the Germans want to water their cattle in the lake they have to show a passport and have the cattle examined "for disease," so the Bürgermeister says.

* * * * *

ON August 10, 1825, the Drifter learned, there died in Lauenburg a certain Dr. Vollmer, a physician extremely fond of good living, and, remarkably enough, much afraid of death. In his will, which makes a thick volume, he provided that he was to be put in a glass casket and left for the next one hundred years, so that if he should come to life he could get out. He also wished a great banquet to be given every year on the anniversary of his death, to which the Bürgermeister and the evangelical clergymen of Kreis Lauenburg were to be invited. In order to dodge all danger from inflation, taxes, and the like, he left certain meadows the income from which was to be applied to the banquet. The will provided the exact amount of salt, of pepper, of drinks, and of all the victuals. It provided a certain amount for a tip to the man who kept the city gates, for letting the guests into the city in the evening. Lastly it provided that none of the guests was to leave the house before daybreak of the morning after, and that they were all to be taken home in wheelbarrows!

* * * * *

ALAS that the Drifter has no qualifications for wangling an invitation to the late Dr. Vollmer's banquet tonight. But his friend the Bürgermeister will be there. As toastmaster he admits that tonight the guests are *not* to be taken home in wheelbarrows, but he adds that as soon as the hard times are a little past, so that people can appreciate a joke, he is going to revive the custom. May the Drifter be there to see! THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Catholicism and Liberalism

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: As a non-Catholic reader permit me to felicitate *The Nation* for printing the enlightening article by the Rev. John A. Ryan, Catholicism and Liberalism, which leaves no doubt about the attitude of his church—there can be no compromise! Therein lies the strength of the Catholic church with its perfect discipline and its fulcrum of dogmatism.

Nevertheless, Father Ryan gives us some very clear definitions of "liberal" and "liberalism" in their various aspects and applications, both here and abroad. By following these to their logical conclusions, we find that a strict authoritarian in religion, like Father Ryan, can also be classed as a liberal in economics and in politics, always provided they are kept apart from his church; and if it comes to a question of policy, we know without a scintilla of doubt which way the policy points. And so, in the words of Father Ryan, if you "desire to see established a reign of wider industrial and political justice . . . the task before us all is formidable enough to command our united efforts."

It is very evident that if we wish to enlist the sympathy of the church we must heed these warning admonitions—antagonism will only produce the opposite effect. This seems a good opportunity to exercise that spirit of tolerance we hear about so much, not condescendingly, but generously. Father Ryan's loyalty to his church commands our respect, his admirable lucidity and firm but courteous tone set us a good example.

Glen Ridge, N. J., August 11 LOUIS CORTAMBERT

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The point which interests me in Father Ryan's article Catholicism and Liberalism is his interpretation of liberalism. It is true that some people call themselves liberal in politics and economics but conservative in their religious views. That such people, who are liberal in one aspect of life and conservative in another, are not liberal at all is revealed by the fact that whenever they are called upon to enact their liberal views they shrink from doing so.

An integrated liberal character is liberal in all aspects of life. The idea that life in all its forms is changing except in the field of so-called religious truth is not the idea of a liberal mind, but of an opportunist who for personal reasons accepts liberalism in one aspect of life and rejects it in another.

When we talk of liberal Catholics we mean precisely Catholics liberal in their religious interpretation. But such Catholics are not acknowledged to be Catholics any more by the church. The whole discussion therefore begs the question.

Parkdale, Oregon, August 12 F. WERTGEN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The article by the Reverend John A. Ryan is a masterpiece of diplomacy and evasion. False premises and tricky reasoning are apparent under the veneer of erudition. The peak of bizarre logic is reached when Father Ryan says that the average educated Catholic could spend his time to better advantage than in reading such books as are banned by the "Index of Prohibited Books," viz., Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," Darwin's "Origin of Species," Kant's "Critique," or the works of Maeterlinck.

New York, August 8 MAURICE DEL BOURGO

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: As a new reader of *The Nation* may I comment briefly on Catholicism and Liberalism? First, Father Ryan has skilfully and interestingly demonstrated that a doctrinally liberal, "good" Catholic cannot exist. Second, his logic in discussing the Index is amusing if not convincing. If the Catholic's prayer books are "incomparably better" than the Book of Common Prayer why is it necessary to administer the prohibition? Why should a thing that is inferior be so intolerable and obnoxious? Why not confess that it is fear alone which places the Prayer Book on the Index?

Adams Basin, N. Y., August 10 THEODORE G. CLEMENT

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In my humble opinion the Reverend John A. Ryan is perfectly right in his contention that thinking in air-tight compartments is not confined to Catholics. But in charging the "mistaken course of liberals by lecturing, threatening, and antagonizing Catholic economic and political liberals" with responsibility for "the ultra-conservative position taken by prominent Catholics on the Continent of Europe," it would seem that Father Ryan has been too sweeping. In Europe the church is supported by the state which collects her taxes, while here the church depends on the voluntary offerings of her votaries. This circumstance, permit me to state, is at least a contributory factor to both, the ultra-conservative position of prominent Catholics in Europe and the economic and political liberalism of prominent Catholics in this country. I hope Father Ryan will

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forgive me this slight annotation to his splendid article which was read with keen relish several times.

Clinton, Iowa, August 10 J. C. MENZEL

To the Editor of The Nation:

SIR: Father Ryan's article on the Catholic and Liberal is interesting, not for the questions it answers, but for the questions it raises. How, for instance, would Father Ryan demonstrate to the liberal of any faith or creed the validity of the propositions which are the foundations of Father Ryan's article: (1) that Jesus was and is God; (2) that Jesus founded the church now known as the Roman Catholic church; (3) that that church continues to be the medium for the revelation of God? Intelligent, scholarly demonstrations of such Catholic assumptions would be the most fruitful contribution any apologist could make to the situation which evoked the original questions of your correspondents.

Rättvik, Sweden, August 15 JOHN MCCHESNEY

To the Editor of The Nation:

SIR: The Reverend John A. Ryan may be a liberal, and I am inclined to think a very interesting and charming personality. But no amount of theoretical explanation will explain away the assumed infallibility of the Catholic church and its final authority over its adherents, as stated in the Encyclical of last December. I am a Protestant of Italian birth who voted in the last election for Al Smith, and also advocated in season and out of season that religion should not enter as a qualification, and I also was very indignant at the intolerance shown by some Republicans. However, since then, the encyclical and other pronouncements of the Pope have convinced me that the Catholic's philosophy of education and life is fundamentally inimical to the fundamental pillars of the government of this nation, a liberal education, and gradual intellectual progress.

East Orange, N. J., August 3 JOEL TESSITORE

To the Editor of The Nation:

SIR: Father Ryan says that "undoubtedly the Catholic church does reject unlimited freedom in all these spheres. She denies the moral right of men to accept or to profess false opinions or to propagate doctrines or practices which are contrary to the moral law."

Father Ryan certainly must have read the history of the Inquisition in Spain and other holy lands where "false opinions and false doctrines" contrary to the then "moral law" sent thousands, nay, tens of thousands, to the stake. Was it not an infallible Pope who held that the doctrines and opinions of Galileo and Giordano Bruno were false? I would like to know if there is any institution in the world today, including the Catholic church, that can tell what are false opinions or what doctrines or practices are contrary to the so-called moral law.

Brooklyn, August 9 J. M. E.

To the Editor of The Nation:

SIR: Father Ryan's sharp exposition of the liberal Catholic stand in America is a high point in your generally noteworthy issue of August 6. After concluding the article the question uppermost is: How much within the liberal fold can a Catholic possibly be?

Politically, not at all, unless he is disloyal to the historical stand of the Catholic church as set forth in papal encyclicals too numerous to mention, including the "Mirari Vos" of Gregory XVI, August 15, 1832, the "Quanta Cura," December 8, 1864, the "De Fide," Vatican Council, 1870, the Decree of the Congregation of the Inquisition, July 3, 1907. Politically the liberal Catholic is too circumscribed to be able to venture far except where Catholic property is involved or where Protestant domination is feared. French and English history shows the church invariably aligned with reaction if the ruling group is Catholic and with the opposition if the ruling group is Protestant.

In the field of economics Christian socialism has always turned to Bishop Ketteler, Cardinal Manning, Count de Mun, and similar figures for inspiration and has frowned on any of the more progressive doctrines of the nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries. The church is not anxious for any revision of the conception of property and it has issued more than one encyclical to convince the liberal thinkers of its stand.

In science the tradition of the church again is a distinct handicap if not a deterrent. Tertullian, Lactantius, St. Augustine, and Gregory founded an unfortunate tradition that the sincere efforts of many broad-minded Catholics to this day have failed to undermine.

The obvious difficulty is in the interpretation of "infallibility in faith and morals." All three terms do not lend themselves to precise definition. All three terms shade off imperceptibly to mysticism on one side and into just earthly security on the other. As soon as definition is attempted the highly compartmentalized mind, the bane of progressive thinking, is encouraged. Father Ryan feels that he can be reactionary in religion and liberal in economics at the same time, or as Shakespeare would have it,

> . . . hot ice and wondrous strange snow,
> How shall we find the concord of this discord?

But for the liberal Catholic there is no difficulty, obviously. If mathematics can be "absolute," religion can, despite the fact that God has revealed nowhere that two and two make four and compels the belief therein at the pain of hell, but approximately seven-eighths of the world does not believe "Christ is God and that He endowed the Catholic church with plenary authority to teach and to govern in spiritual and moral affairs." An intelligent student of human development is amazed!

Brooklyn, August 8 OCHUNVAY DEVELDT

To the Editor of The Nation:

SIR: In your issue of August 6 Father Ryan makes out as good a case as possible for the so-called liberal Catholic. In spite of a few very telling points, however, I am left with the feeling that the "liberal Catholic" is like the guinea-pig, neither guinea nor pig; that is, neither liberal nor Catholic. Now it is true that we have a few individuals in the Catholic church, and I think Father Ryan will agree with me that they are very few indeed, who are capable of throwing themselves into that mental state which the psychologists term "dissociation." Such individuals must define liberalism in the terms Father Ryan employs. Such individuals cannot see that the very essential of liberalism in religion, in science, in politics is the individual's right, the moral right, to use Father Ryan's term, to investigate all the facts at his disposal and to reach his own conclusions therefrom. For that reason he is as much opposed to the church that would use moral force to send all her children to a school that suppresses all free inquiry into matters of religion and morals as he is to the Soviet school that has for its chief aim the inculcation of the doctrines of communism.

But the most demolishing argument of all against Father Ryan's stand is the strong undercurrent within Catholic circles of intense opposition to liberalism in all its forms. Has Father Ryan never felt the oppressive hand of extreme orthodoxy persecuting him for his quasi-liberal opinions and activities?

It is Catholics everywhere who have opposed all liberal legislation not directly concerned with freedom of worship and greater opportunities for themselves as Catholics. I might mention in this country birth control, liberal divorce laws, and child labor. I know that Father Ryan on the last-mentioned question fought his church single-handed.

New York, August 8 JOHN JAY

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Books

Clean as These Rocks

By WILBERT SNOW

Clean as these rocks are, washed by every tide,
Sweet as the fragrance of the summer sea,
Sparkling as sunlight on the waves, and wide
As ocean I would wish my life to be.
Others may feel the rocks too self-contained,
The fragrance lost in pockets up the bay,
The dazzling sun on waves too unrestrained—
Chilling, the ocean's drench of bitter spray.

For me these granite barricades suffice
To beat back waves of unrest one by one;
The heady tang of brine holds Orient spice
Tinctured with ambergris; each dart of sun
On waves is foe to dulness; and the ocean
A slughorn call to bury dead emotion.

Our Intellectual Rulers

FOLLOWING Mr. Gerard, this department has thought it useful to compile a list, not of our economic but of our intellectual rulers. Like Mr. Gerard, we have decided to make our choices realistic; we therefore present not our nominal but our actual mentors. If we had chosen those whom it would be pleasant to think of as our intellectual leaders, our list would include Santayana, Morris Cohen, Wesley C. Mitchell, Charles Horton Cooley, Lewis Mumford, T. Hunt Morgan, H. S. Jennings, Judge Cardozo, Justice Holmes, Jane Addams, and so on. Occasionally we find that writers who deserve a wide influence actually wield it, as, for example, Mr. Mencken and Mr. Dewey; but it should be pointed out that the influence of the latter is usually exaggerated. It is not nearly so great, say, as that of Will Hays.

Historical comparisons will help us here. Jonathan Edwards was perhaps our profoundest early thinker, but his influence was negligible when compared with that of Thomas Paine or Benjamin Franklin. Emerson was an important influence even with the Americans of his own day, but not half so important as Horace Greeley, who, as Emerson remarked, did "all their thinking and theory for them, for two dollars a year." The real thinker of a later period might be a Willard Gibbs, a Henry Adams, or a Charles S. Peirce, but none of them had any influence on the American thought of their time comparable to that of Robert Ingersoll. Nor did William James, in his heyday, have any influence approaching that of Elbert Hubbard or Dr. Frank Crane. The question to be asked of any candidate for admission to our present roll, therefore, is: Will what X thinks today become the thought of thousands tomorrow (using "tomorrow" quite literally)? In the list which follows, we had at first intended to assign each thought ruler a national ranking, but this task proved too difficult:

Leonard P. Ayres	Charles E. Hughes
Bruce Barton	Ivy Lee
Roger W. Babson	Sinclair Lewis
William E. Borah	Charles A. Lindbergh
Arthur Brisbane	Walter Lippmann
Heywood Broun	Andrew W. Mellon
Nicholas Murray Butler	H. L. Mencken
S. Parkes Cadman	Robert A. Millikan
Calvin Coolidge	Henry Fairfield Osborn
John Dewey	William Lyon Phelps
Will Durant	Will Rogers
Thomas A. Edison	John S. Sumner
Henry Ford	Samuel Untermyer
Glenn Frank	John B. Watson
Edgar Guest	William Allen White
Will Hays	Harold Bell Wright
Herbert Hoover	Owen D. Young

As we never completely agree with anybody else's list, we do not expect complete agreement with our own. We ourselves are in some doubt both about certain inclusions and more particularly certain omissions, for example, Stuart Chase, Dwight Morrow, Charles E. Mitchell, Margaret Sanger, Upton Sinclair, and Senator Norris. Certain industrialists, whose opinions are listened to merely because of their economic prestige, are omitted, but others who are famous as spokesmen in their own right, such as Andrew W. Mellon, Owen D. Young, and Henry Ford (whose name is here taken to cover such ghosts as Samuel Crowther) must be included. After some hesitation, Mr. Hoover was listed ex officio.

All in all, we feel that this list of thirty-four rulers gives a very fair composite picture of the American mind; and no doubt Mr. Gerard could even show that it proves the beneficence of the protective system.

HENRY HAZLITT

Mrs. Undset's Tetralogy

The Son Avenger. By Sigrid Undset. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

IN her latest novel Sigrid Undset completes her monumental tetralogy "The Master of Hestviken." The volumes in the order of their appearance are: "The Axe," "The Snake-Pit," "In the Wilderness," and "The Son Avenger."

No proper estimate of this work should overlook Mrs. Undset's stride from a *succès d'estime* to a very high order of general popularity in America. She has, within five or six years, risen from a writer whom nobody read and somebody appreciated to one whom many will read whether they appreciate her accomplishment or not. The award of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1928 had something to do with this, but less, perhaps, than appears on the surface.

For, possessing a style which is so effortless as to appear no style at all, narrowing her delineation of character down to a chiaroscuro of simple action and superficial description—employing, in other words, the most primitive and time-honored of all the devices of the story-teller—she is able to create an atmosphere and a sensation of power. This old method, in a period satiated with the new, the super-analytical, and the exotic, appears marvelously fresh and original. And to say that it *is* fresh is only to remark that the grace of simplicity is perennial.

She writes of the North countries in their heroic age, and

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it is difficult to see how any other place but the North could have produced her. The lapse from drama into lethargy, the slow accumulation of passions, the towering melancholies producing their own sense of predestination—all these are reflections of a brooding winter land. "The Son Avenger" brings out her method and temperament very clearly. It is a less graceful story than "The Axe," and also far less gracious. In it, the storm of the whole tetralogy rises to a final height of blood and thunder. But it also contains some of the author's finest descriptive writing. And it is a fitting climax to a dramatic whole.

"The Son Avenger" traces the fortune of the Master of Hestviken through the destinies of his daughter and adopted son to a final tragic close. The theme of the tetralogy—that vengeance is God's alone—is rounded out in Olav's tragic death and repentance. It is a persuasive and beautiful ending.

EUGENE LÖHRKE

Fair Harvard

The Development of Harvard University, 1869-1929. Edited by Samuel Eliot Morison. Harvard University Press. $6.

IN 1936 Harvard College will celebrate its three hundredth birthday, and the task of compiling its history has appropriately been placed in the hands of Professor S. E. Morison, the distinguished authority on the maritime history of Massachusetts. Foreseeing the fatigue that often overtakes an author in the last stages of a prolonged task, and wishing to take advantage of the survival of some of President Eliot's contemporaries, Professor Morison has boldly adopted the unconventional plan of issuing the volume dealing with the last sixty years first. There can be no question as to the wisdom of this policy. Every year between this and 1936 will see the dropping out of men who are authorities on the period dealt with, and the present moment is the latest possible for a really contemporary treatment of the revolutionary changes of this period by those who had a hand in them. A true historical perspective on these things will not be obtainable for many years, and the next best thing is to see what they meant to the men who lived among them.

The book opens with an Introduction containing an account of the Government and Administration of the University, the curriculum of the College, the establishment of Voluntary Worship, the Inaugural Addresses of Eliot and Lowell, and some tables of growth. The description of the somewhat intricate administrative and academic machinery is admirably clear and concise, and forms an essential background for the detailed studies which follow. The two inaugurals remain on rereading as pregnant and significant as when they were first delivered, and have gained new interest in the light of the developments which they prefigured.

The first twenty-five chapters deal with the various departments of study which come under the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, and are written by scholars who have or have had an important part in conducting them. The remaining thirteen describe the growth of the graduate and professional schools, the Blue Hill Observatory and the Library. There is a full index.

The editor has shown throughout a marked degree of self-restraint. Each author has been permitted to deal with his subject in his own way, and the lack of uniformity is more than made up for by the personal flavor which permeates many of the narratives. Some, like Professor Palmer's account of his colleagues, James, Royce, Santayana, and Münsterberg, are valuable as vivid portrayals of distinguished personalities, and rise from the level of chronicles to that of literature; others are contributions to the history of methods of college and university instruction; still others to the history of the growth of knowledge in the various branches of learning. All, however, take account of the individual scholars who have created the university as it is today; and the skill with which practically every professor who has taught in it during these sixty years is mentioned and characterized without any semblance of cataloguing, is highly remarkable. Hundreds of Harvard men who will never read through these six hundred-odd pages will scan them to see what is said of a favorite teacher or a classmate turned professor, and none will be disappointed. The combination of interest and compendiousness achieved by so great a variety of authors is very noteworthy.

The danger to be feared in a work of this nature is that of a kind of parochialism which forgets the relation of the institution described to its rivals and the outside world, and gives itself up to an orgy of self-glorification. Of this, or of that arrogance with which Harvard men are sometimes charged, there is almost no trace. On the other hand, the well-known freedom and frankness with which Harvard professors and alumni alike are accustomed to indulge in intramural criticism is given free rein by the editor, though the tone throughout is urbane and at times enthusiastic.

Looking back over the book as a whole, one is forced to admit that the enthusiasm is justified. Closeness to the academic problems and failures of the moment often induces pessimism about our colleges and universities; but the record of service and devotion and accomplishment displayed in this volume is tremendous. Whatever periods of lassitude or decadence have to be admitted, one cannot fail to be profoundly impressed by the extent and depth of influence exerted during these two generations by this single institution. In every department of human thought it has made itself felt not only throughout the United States but throughout the world, and has contributed to the enrichment of human life, the alleviation of suffering, and the advancement of justice and enlightenment. That it is, though the oldest, only one of many such institutions in our country working toward these ends is a matter for national congratulation and a source of comfort in these lean and troublesome times.

WILLIAM A. NEILSON

A Skeptical Biologist

The Sceptical Biologist. By Joseph Needham. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.

AT present it is not popular to say, as Needham does in his stimulating book, that materialism is the life-blood of scientific thought, that a view of the world based solely on the achievements of scientific experience can only be materialistic. It has become a commonplace for philosophers and theologians desirous of making the world safe for the spirit to contend that the researches of modern physicists have destroyed the old-fashioned materialism of science by substituting electrical charges for atomic billiard balls, thus making matter less material. But "matter cannot be turned into spirit by making it thin." Scientific naturalism, postulating infallibility, may be forced to yield to the more mature judgment that the scientific method is merely a very useful fiction, a mental construct which is veridical but not veritable. Yet science remains incurably mechanistic, mathematical, and materialistic. As such, it is fundamentally antagonistic and contradictory to religion, which is equally fictitious and none the more revealed.

Needham, stressing the limitations of both the scientific and religious interpretations of life, would have us tolerantly grant equal tenability to both. But the two approaches must be judged not merely in terms of their metaphysical validity

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but also by their achievements. While science, fostering doubt and impatient of mystery, has gradually extended man's command over nature through its elimination of one charming anthropomorphism after another, religion, cherishing these very anthropomorphisms, has been ministrated by men who find it needless to inquire further because of their direct telephonic connection with omniscience. The religious emphasis on the sacred and the holy may give "demonic joy and dread" to individual mystics, but this is socially fruitless when compared to the power to manipulate nature's processes for the ends of man which science has promoted. Although Needham looks for unbounded benefits in the application of mathematics to all aspects of nature and is philosophically critical of contemporary religious institutions, he never contrasts the social efficacy of science and religion, and contends that to reject religious experience is "a futile bit of self-limitation."

But Needham would have religion stay in its place, and as a bio-chemist is vehement against its entering the laboratory in the disguised form of the neo-vitalism of Driesch and Haldane. In the most persuasive of his essays he disposes of vital forces, entelechies, and hormonic urges as irrelevant and useless in science and characterizes them as a modern company of vestals, all of which, like Bacon's final causes, are dedicated to God and are barren. BERNHARD J. STERN

Restoration Dramatists

Restoration Tragedy, 1660-1720. By Bonamy Dobrée. Oxford University Press. $3.

Thomas Killegrew. By Arthur Harbage. University of Pennsylvania Press. $3.

Brawny Wycherley, First Master in English Modern Comedy. By Willard Connely. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.

FEW literary epochs so severely try the mettle of a critic as the period of the Restoration. The inherent charm of those mad and glorious years may predispose to an indulgence as misleading as the castigation of a modern academic Collier. The strange alloy of artificiality and profundity in the men of Dryden's world does not simplify the matter. Mr. Bonamy Dobrée, as students of the period know, brings to a discussion of Restoration drama knowledge both broad and exact, and to the expression of his incisive critical opinions a style at once urbane and laconic.

"Restoration Tragedy" considers a field perhaps less fruitful, certainly less known and understood, than that surveyed in the author's companion volume, "Restoration Comedy." Mr. Dobrée devotes four of his nine chapters to critical theory. In The Necessity for Heroism, and Restoration Criticism and the Trend of Writing he traces the conditions of life and letters that made inevitable the fixed, artificial substance and the self-conscious manner of Restoration drama. All the elements in the situation are considered, with more emphasis, however, on the theories of art held by dramatists and critics than on the literary antecedents of the plays themselves. Despite frequent and often extremely apt allusions to Jacobean and Caroline drama and to French classical tragedy, the total effect of these streams of influence is not clearly defined. The gist of Mr. Dobrée's sound conclusion on this phase of the subject he states in the final chapter:

> It is not by its form, but rather in the choice of material laid upon the form, that Restoration tragedy is condemned to a secondary place. The error arose through limiting the elements in human nature which were supposed fit for the purposes of art. This is always fatal . . .
>
> And in Restoration tragedy, instead of the content creating a form proper to it, romantic, that is to say immature, undisciplined passions were made to flow into a classical mold, with the consequent sense of discomfort we experience in many of these plays. One or two are superbly successful; here and there we find some adequate ones; but there is no large body of good work simply because the form does not correspond with the emotion.

In Chapters 3 and 4, Blank Verse and the Heroic Couplet, and Cleopatra and "That Criticall Warr," the special problems of versification and dramatic structure receive inspired summaries. Mr. Dobrée traces the rise of the heroic couplet out of the ruins of Elizabethan blank verse, its fall before the slow attack of a sentimentalism for which Otway and Rowe needed a softer medium, and the eventual defeat of this later, enervated blank verse in Addison's "Cato," written in rhymed measure "without the rhymes." The use of the unities is considered objectively by reference to Daniel's "Cleopatra," Shakespeare's "Antony and Cleopatra," and Dryden's "All for Love." Quite properly the author reaches no conclusion more dogmatic than that in each play the particular method employed accomplishes effects impossible by the use of the other.

In his discussion of the plays themselves Mr. Dobrée deals with the works of Dryden, Lee, Otway, and Rowe. A final chapter considers the "Mourning Bride" of Congreve and Addison's "Cato." If the impressionistic nature of this survey tends to emphasize some of the lesser phases, such as the weakness of Otway and the bombast of Lee, the treatment in general is sound and just. One is constantly grateful for the discretion, Addisonian in poise but not in timidity, that marks the author's critical statements. Of Dryden he says: "He was an artist because his eye and his mind were always on the object made . . ."; of Lee, "Had he lived today, he would, as one may guess, have joined the ranks of the expressionists . . ."; of Otway, " . . . had he lived he might have found a world for his own peculiar sense of fact, and disciplined the latter into material for art." Here is criticism factual in its base and imaginative in its scope.

Needless to say it is not Mr. Dobrée's purpose to supersede any or all of the general or highly specialized studies of the period. His book is for those whose knowledge of the field will enable them the more readily to realize the vividness of his comment and the soundness of his analysis.

A careful study and just appreciation of Killegrew has been long overdue, and it is especially fortunate therefore that a scholar of Mr. Harbage's quality has undertaken the necessary research. If his book lacks the graceful style of Mr. Dobrée's study, it is as sure in its learning. Mr. Harbage has written a straightforward biographical and critical study, painstakingly accurate in every detail and notably sane and objective in interpretation. The author traces the family of Killegrew from its known beginnings in such a way as to clarify many circumstances in the dramatist's life. No effort is made to condone the young courtier's practice of preying on the victims of uncertain justice, a practice through which the younger son of the Killegrews made his living. As willing as Mr. Harbage may be to face the ugly facts, however, he appears equally willing to justify Killegrew when research demonstrates that the dramatist has been unjustly treated. His dismissal from the Venetian embassy is shown to be creditable rather than disgraceful, and his reputation for excessive debauchery is proved to be unfounded.

The plays of Killegrew receive careful attention. Mr. Harbage has no illusions about their importance as stage pieces, but he does succeed in showing that Killegrew's dramas mark a step in the development from the late Elizabethans to the men of the Restoration, that they have autobiographical and historical value, and that Killegrew conceived of the stage in perspective long before D'Avenant wrote "The Siege of Rhodes." Excellent though the biographical and critical parts

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may be, however, the book lacks an adequate presentation of Killegrew's most important work, that done as manager of the King's Company. Mr. Harbage explains this omission by saying that the subject has been fully treated by Nicoll and Hotson, but the fact of the omission leaves the reader with the impression that the study is incomplete.

A book that Wycherley probably seldom read would tell Mr. Connely, in slightly different words, that one cannot serve both the scholar and the casual reader. Obviously well acquainted with his subject, the author presents a readable thought somewhat padded biography of a man whose only real distinction or claim upon the attention of anyone but the specialist rests upon the fact that he wrote two very important comedies, two less notable plays, and much inconsequential verse. As a focal point for a view of the period he is not typical enough of his age nor its literature. He was "first master" of "English modern comedy" (comedy of manners?) only if George Etherege be forgotten. No place appears in such a study as this for an estimate of Wycherley's real contribution—his use of the mordant satire and cruel cynicism he found in Jonson and developed. Wycherley must dance to the tunes of syncopated scholarship. But Mr. Thorn-Drury may feel some embarrassment at being called, in the introduction, "the final authority in England on the Restoration period." He knows that Mr. Nicoll, Mr. Summers, Mr. Dobrée, Mr. Brett-Smith, and Professor Saintsbury are still alive.

DONALD A. ROBERTS

Voices of the New Russia

Voices of October: Art and Literature in Soviet Russia. By Joseph Freeman, Joshua Kunitz, and Louis Lozowick. Vanguard Press. $4.

THE editors of "Voices of October" may merely have intended to give information about the art and literature of Soviet Russia, but they have written a very vivid account of the whole country. It is vivid because it appears to be without benefit of propaganda. The editors have not tried to evaluate this work or to exploit it; they simply tell who the writers and artists are, what the main groups stand for, what they think of each other, and what the government and people think of them. As the writers and artists of Russia are unusually interested in the life of the country, their conflicting opinions make a criss-cross of beliefs which yield the final effect of a photograph.

All the writers quoted are naturally in sympathy with communism. But evidently it is possible to criticize the achievements of the Bolsheviks, though perhaps not their ideals. After reading this résumé Russia appears, as one might expect, very like our own country. There is the same glamor in present Russia that there was in "building up the West." The Russians are experiencing the thrill of great factories and vast projects of education. There is the comedy of the young folks hastily inoculated with "Carlo Markov," who return to the small towns and villages to teach communism to their elders. And there are the town drunks who become chiefs of police.

The most interesting section of the book is that dealing with the writers. Immediately after the Revolution the government encouraged the people of every class to express their opinions on all topics of public interest. So there emerged the wall newspaper and contributors' columns filled with the naive reactions of people who had never before been allowed to express themselves. The Revolution has developed an admirable school of novelists and poets. The work of these writers reveals three main tendencies: heroic, pessimistic, and nostalgic. The first is represented by exceptional stories of war and industry and some fine, combative poetry; the second by the exquisite feelings of a large group of intellectuals who helped to promote the Revolution but whose sensibilities and ideals have been trampled upon by the people they liberated. The pessimism of this group is personal. Another pessimism is that of the puritan Communists, appalled by what seems at times the incorrigibility of human nature. The last group are "nature" lovers, people who thought communism would encourage a peacefully joyous and idyllic way of living. Though absurd, these writers express their nostalgia with talent.

Through its frequent quotations, the book gives an appealing picture of the mind and thought of the revolutionary leaders. These quotations mainly deal with art and literature, but it is difficult not to have faith in men of such vigorous style, and such straight and even humble thinking.

WALTER GUTMAN

Roger Williams Again

Roger Williams, Prophet and Pioneer. By Emily Easton. Houghton Mifflin Company. $5.

THE most noticeable characteristic of this biography of Roger Williams is the small attention which is paid to religious controversy and the general absence of hero worship. For that, in certain Rhode Island and Baptist circles, the author will probably be accounted a heretic, since in those quarters there is a Roger Williams myth which is both widely accepted and devotedly cherished. Most biographers of Williams, like most historians of New England, have made much of him as a distinguished champion of religious liberty and a founder of American democracy. There is a sense in which he was both, but it is not the sense in which the ascriptions are often employed. Williams stood for freedom of conscience at a time when the right to such freedom had not the least chance of being generally recognized, and he established his settlement in Rhode Island on the basis of a brotherly love and mutual concession which his associates seem conspicuously to have lacked. Being in those matters not only an extreme individualist but also an irritating critic of his opponents, he naturally left no immediate following, and it remained for later generations to acclaim his personal attitude toward religion as a potent argument against theological or ecclesiastical authority, and to connect his tiny experiment in Rhode Island with the large practice of national self-government.

Miss Easton, however, lets the legendary Williams go his way, and devotes herself pretty strictly to telling the story of Williams's life. She passes lightly over Williams's controversy with John Cotton, keeps close to the record in recounting his experiences at Salem, Plymouth, and Boston, and wastes no space in discussing the patent of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations from the standpoint of political science or the development of American ideas of government. Apparently she has had in mind the reader who likes to have his history recalled to him, and we accordingly find a 65-page introduction on the London into which Williams was born, and nearly the whole of two chapters given over to Coke and Bacon, with the former of whom Williams read law. With these exceptions the book is straightforward narrative, well proportioned and eminently readable.

Broadly speaking, the book brings out little of importance that is new. Bereft of the halo of greatness which time has bestowed upon him but which no one in his day seems to have perceived, Williams stands out as an extreme individualist whose collisions with authority in church and state were inevitable, and whose conception of social organization was hardly susceptible of realization either then or later. He was as indi-

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dualistic in his religious notions as he was in his views of olitics, joining the Anabaptists in Rhode Island only to leave ie sect in a few weeks, and disliking the Quakers although imenting their persecution. William Bradford of Plymouth as not far wrong when he characterized Williams as "a man odly and zealous, having many precious parts, but very unettled in judgment." His greatest distinction, next to his emand for liberty, was his humane attitude toward the Indians —an aspect of his life to which Miss Easton properly gives a ood deal of attention. The spread of the ideas which he hampioned, and the contrast between the colony which he lanned and the one that actually developed, are subjects that ie outside the scope of this book.

WILLIAM MACDONALD

The Philosophy of Aesthetics

Aesthetic Judgment. By D. W. Prall. Thomas Y. Crowell Company. $4.

A WRITER on aesthetics has a good deal against him. Artists and connoisseurs will shrug their shoulders as they would at any impertinent intruder who tried to tell them what they should do or feel, historians of art and specialists in physiology and psychology will laugh cynically, expecting to find unwarranted generalizations concerning matters of fact belonging to their own fields of research, and philosophers will speak condescendingly as toward one who has abandoned rigorous thinking in the proper spheres of philosophic study—logic and metaphysics—for hazy speculations regarding a seductive, but unfruitful subject. Mr. Prall has, I think, protected himself from the shafts of all such scoffers. He is himself so discriminating a connoisseur in many arts that if any of the professional initiates will read him they will be certain to recognize him as their peer; he has such a wide knowledge of the history of art and the relevant facts of science, yet such restraint in exhibiting and using this information, and he is so meticulous in his effort to think clearly and write exactly and avoid hypotheses, that the most empirical men of science and the most boastfully "scientific" philosophers will not discover much to criticize. At this last point, indeed, the chief limitation of the book is, I should say, a certain lack of boldness, an unwillingness or inability to offer a novel hypothesis in a field where there is a crying need for the brilliant idea, even if only half true, to illumine the exceedingly complex and subtle phenomena.

The underlying philosophy of the book is a blend of Croce's conception of "lyrical intuition" as the aesthetic fact with Santayana's doctrine of essence. "The beauty of anything," Mr. Prall writes, "seems then to be the delight in the object as directly apprehended, with no reference beyond this apprehended form or appearance." From this it follows that "the surface of all of our experience is aesthetic; that everywhere and at all times, the surface that our senses come upon may be dwelt on for what it is in direct intuition." So far the Crocean element, closely related historically to the *perfectio cognitionis sensitivi* of Baumgarten and the "disinterested interest" in the mere appearance of things of Kant. Having thus identified beauty in the primary sense with the delightfulness of the sensuous surface of our world, Mr. Prall assures us—and this is the contribution of Santayana—that "every beauty is eternally itself, eternal not as lasting through time, but as in its own nature what it is regardless of time, eternal in the simple and familiar sense in which a geometrical meaning is eternal, independent as to its nature and character of the exigencies of space and time, held to no place and no date to be what it is, as triangularity needs no place to occupy and no time to fill to be what it means anywhere at any time." Now with the general doctrine of es-

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sence I have personally no wish to quarrel. I take it that Mr. Prall knows how to fit the eternal entities into our temporal experiences and to reconcile their universality with the uniqueness of individual intuition. I shall content myself with putting this question: whether such a static concept can take us far toward an understanding of the phenomena of natural beauty, so evanescent, so changeful, so dependent upon living personality and mood, or the phenomena of art which are, if not more akin, at least equally akin to moving passion as to the eternal. For explanation we need a more dynamic concept, and as we might anticipate the book offers rather descriptions of facts of beauty than explanations. If we are to retain the notion of essence in aesthetics, we must relate essence to passion, which Mr. Prall does not even attempt to do.

Despite this limitation in underlying philosophy, Mr. Prall's discussions are valuable throughout. In his preface he rather too modestly denies any claim to originality, offering his book as a text for college students that may also interest the general reader. To both these classes of readers the book has much to give, first in the way of relevant and important facts skilfully and delightfully presented; and second, through the contact which it provides with a mind that knows how to communicate its own finely cultivated and buoyant taste. It would be hard to find a book better adapted to arouse a dormant sense for the beauty of the "aesthetic surface" of life. And there are many pages in the discussion of the arts which the initiated also will read with pleasure. Of particular value is the conception of the standard of taste as being "not a quality, but a degree." The plan of the book is admirable. It begins with a few introductory chapters devoted to the definition and illustration of beauty, including a novel chapter on the Aesthetic Surface of Primitive Life; it then proceeds to an account of the elements and types of order, of sound, color, space, and time, which constitute the materials and possibilities of aesthetic surface; after which come chapters on the fine arts and a final philosophical chapter on Aesthetic Judgment and Knowledge in General. The pivotal chapter is Chapter X, where the author makes the transition from aesthetic surface, or the beauty of mere sense elements and patterns, to art in terms of a specific expressiveness given to surface by the definite purpose and technique of the artist. The argument to show that the significance of art cannot be limited to mere surface, or "form" as it is currently called, but must include the "specification" upon the aesthetic surface of "human feelings, emotions, desires and satisfactions" is utterly convincing and a good example of the author's insight and dialectic skill.

DeWitt H. Parker

The Ethics of Power

The Ethical Basis of Political Authority. By W. W. Willoughby. The Macmillan Company. $3.50.

PROFESSOR WILLOUGHBY has the habit of writing important books. In this he reviews with learning and clarity preceding political thought and expounds (rather, as it were, intersticially) his own theory of the principles of political obligation. He demonstrates very effectively the weakness of that doctrine of natural and indefeasible rights which Jeremy Bentham called "nonsense walking about on stilts" and establishes the right of the constituted political authority to exercise such force as may be required in the light of its own conscientious judgment of the needs of the public weal. He is not quite equally enlightening about the nature of the duty of the individual to obey this authority. On this point, surprisingly enough, he seems to come near to accepting Professor Laski's doctrine of "my conscience against the world," which doctrine (a little misleadingly) receives an eponymous patron in Athanasius. The distinction between the privat conscience and the rational conscience is not discussed. No is it clear whether Professor Willoughby limits the use of forc to the national sovereign state, as that state is popularly under stood today. It would appear that he admits a superior ethica claim of a world state, did it exist, but he does not discus (as did Kant) except indirectly the ethical obligation o humanity to develop a world organization, or whether (whicl Bosanquet denied) unorganized humanity has any prior ethica claim over the national state. The general character of thi excellent book is markedly more "liberal" than that of Professor Willoughby's more purely juristic treatises.

George E. G. Catlin

China in Revolt

The Chinese Revolution. By Arthur N. Holcombe. Harvard University Press. $4.

CHANGES are rapid in China, and so it is a tribute to this book that the events since its composition have so far fulfilled the author's implied predictions. But the book needs no such extraneous commendation. Its own careful and tolerant tone wins the reader at once, with all the abundant evidence that the care and the tolerance derive from a large knowledge of history.

From his historical perspectives Professor Holcombe can see present-day China without the despair and cynicism that even some Chinese observers have fallen into. He is able to correct the distorted views of foreign onlookers like Rodney Gilbert and Legendre, who proceed from the present disorder to a retrospective condemnation of the whole of Chinese civilization. Dr. Holcombe decisively disposes of their theory that the Chinese are inherently without political capacity. He reminds us that the Chinese had political capacity enough to maintain a greater empire longer and more firmly than Rome, which is presumed to be the political genius among peoples. Having disposed of this and other preconceptions, Dr. Holcombe proceeds upon his history, analyzing the old and the new institutions and explaining what has rarely been explained so well before—why the revolution, being a social and cultural revolution as well, must take so much more time than a political revolt. It is admirably done.

The genius of Sun Yat-sen dominates the tale. More effective as a dead saint than a living rebel, he has made it impossible for China to relapse into the days of the bandit generals. Even the most cynical militarists must fight in his name and be converted in the process. The downfall, first of the Parliamentary Republic, then of the Soviet Republic established by Canton was due, as Dr. Holcombe shows us, to their alienation from Chinese institutions. The present Kuomintang dictatorship is replacing the old Mandarinate, educated in the Chinese classics, with a new Mandarinate educated in the Western sciences. It looks to the continuance and further development of a responsible official class selected by the traditional Chinese system of competitive examinations and controlled by the traditional Chinese right of revolt and the traditional check of the censorate. The revolution is following the three stages that Sun Yat-sen predicted; the military phase and the period of tutelage to fit the people for the final stage of self-government.

An interesting commentary on the independence of this work is furnished by this legend on the copyright page: "The Bureau of International Research of Harvard University and Radcliffe College has aided the author in carrying on research and in publishing the results. *The Bureau assumes no responsibility for any statements or views expressed.*"

Isidor Schneider

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Books in Brief

Touch Me Not: Four Writs of a Curt Picaresque. By Vincent McHugh. Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. $2.50.

This first novel is a book of finished and incisive writing, of great power, and of depth. It tells the story of the love of a boy of twenty for a girl of seventeen. The background of the novel is a vulgar and garish amusement park in New England, brilliantly and vividly sketched in, where Gil Blent and his college friend, Dane, have got jobs during the summer vacation. The friendship between Gil and Dane, and the whole portrait of Dane, are done with great beauty. If "Touch Me Not" falls short of what it might have been, it is because it is special and too intense; because it fails to achieve that indescribable thing, a sense of the universal, and because Mr. McHugh, as the book grows, tends to overstep the bounds of the inner probabilities and surrenders something to unbalanced emotionalism. But at its best one senses in this remarkable novel a hard and tempered mind guiding a strong and poetic creative power.

Eugène Sue. Par Paul Ginisty. Paris: Berger-Levrault. 10 francs.

Eugène Sue has experienced the extremes of popularity and vilification, of attention and neglect. There was a period when the workingmen of France regarded him almost as their god, and the intense hatred of the clerical party for him was so well known that at his death the suggestion that his enemies had poisoned him found not a little credence. The unexampled sale of his books excited the frank jealousy of Balzac, and yet the new "Britannica" allows him only a curt score of lines (it is interesting to note that they have cut their former note on him in two, whereas Balzac still enjoys as much space as ever, some six or eight columns). But Eugène Sue is by no means forgotten. There is still a sale for "The Mysteries of Paris" and "The Wandering Jew," and these are the only books of his which ever exerted a great deal of influence, although the influence of these two was tremendous. It is unfortunate that competent biographers have left him so completely alone that most readers know his life only from the spiteful narrative of the prejudiced monk-to-be, Eugène Mirecourt. Paul Ginisty has treated him more fairly and more ably, in a quiet little volume which is very little like his own noisy verbosity and perhaps not quite what one would have expected from a number in the series "les grandes vies aventureuses."

Deutschlands Aussenpolitik in der Nachkriegszeit. By Erich Koch-Weser. Berlin-Grunewald: Kurt Vowinckel Verlag. M. 2.50.

In this short and instructive review of Germany's post-war foreign policy the author points out that the Reich would probably have fared worse at the hands of the Allies had not the advice of Rathenau and Stresemann been followed to fulfil the Versailles peace treaty as far as possible. This course was adopted unwillingly and only under compulsion at first, but now it is being pursued voluntarily because the bulk of the German people realize that the way to better their condition and to lessen the hardships of the peace settlement is by appeasing and cooperating with their enemies and not by further resort to arms. The opening and closing chapters treat of the decline in Europe's economic importance since 1914, and of the policy that Germany should pursue hereafter. The great objects to be striven for, the author contends, are world disarmament, a closer understanding with France, the protection

I defy anyone to put down this book once he has started it. F WRIGHT MOXLEY is a literary find. Red Snow is a gigantic piece of concrete visionary writing, a burning satire --and a high tragedy, packed full of dark prophecies...the passions and fates of men and women under the shadow of extinction. It is ruin itself in terms of moving and symbolic prose. As far as I can see, the book's appeal is limited almost entirely to mothers, fathers, children and unmarried people. We may sell a million copies, but I advise publishing it anyway.

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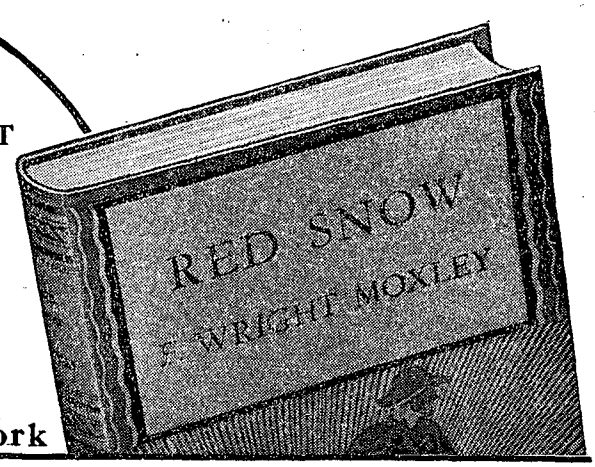

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Our Biggest Customer. By George Harrison Phelps. Horace Liveright. $2.

This is a terrible book. An advertising man apparently devotes himself to a peppy exposition of the thesis that the laboring man consumes most of the goods produced in this country and that therefore something or other. Perhaps the book means something, but certainly one reader has been unable to discover what.

Contributors to This Issue

ALLEN B. MACMURPHY is on the staff of the Waterbury *Republican.*

ALICE M. CAMERON has for several years been engaged in the work of the Workers' Education Association in an English manufacturing town.

E. C. LINDEMAN, of the New York School of Social Work, is a contributing editor of the *New Republic.*

ROSWELL WARD is a writer on architectural subjects.

HERBERT FORDHAM is a New York lawyer.

WILBERT SNOW is a New England poet, author of "Maine Coast."

EUGENE LÖHRKE is editor of "Armageddon: The World War in Literature."

WILLIAM A. NEILSON is president of Smith College and associate editor of "The Harvard Classics."

BERNHARD J. STERN is assistant professor of sociology at the University of Washington.

DONALD A. ROBERTS is a member of the English department at the College of the City of New York.

WALTER GUTMAN is at work on a book on modern art.

WILLIAM MACDONALD is a regular contributor of historical and political reviews to *The Nation.*

DEWITT H. PARKER is professor of philosophy at the University of Michigan.

GEORGE E. G. CATLIN has recently published "A Study of the Principles of Politics."

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER is the author of "The Temptation of Anthony."

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The Japanese Trade-Union Bill

THE following article by Dr. S. Washio appeared in a recent issue of the *Trans-Pacific,* a weekly review published in Tokyo. It gives an account of the resent status of the Japanese labor movement and of the ircumstances surrounding the preparation of the trade-nion bill recently put forward by the Home Minister of he Hamiguchi Cabinet.

In the past ten years the strength of organized labor in his country has increased from some 60,000 to over 300,000. Ten years have elapsed since a trade-union bill was first pre-ared by the government, but was not acted upon. Legisla-ive action has lagged behind the actual development. It is lear that the trade-union movement can develop without a Trade-Union Act. The state comes into relation with it only vhen conditions call for state interference. Legislating pre-naturely would be as unwise as belatedly.

The present move, sponsored by Home Minister Adachi, ppears to be serious and to have a good chance of realization f the Hamaguchi Cabinet can remain until the next session of the Diet. In the Home Minister's opinion the time is ripe nd in the opinion of the Social Bureau of the Home Depart-nent, which drafted the bill, the present industrial depression s an opportune time to introduce a bill in the next Diet.

It is, however, contested by capitalists, who think that he attempt is gratuitous and harmful, especially under pres-nt circumstances when the country is going through the most difficult financial and industrial test. They fear that it may become an additional incentive to labor unrest, which is already bad enough owing to the necessity of lowering wages and other processes of readjustment.

Broadly speaking, the Home Minister's proposal cannot be called premature. Ten years have elapsed to bring it to ma-turity, but at the same time capitalists may be justified in think-ing that introduced at present it amounts to a gratuitous provo-cation of labor unrest. Or the Social Bureau may be right. It will be right if the introduction of the bill can divert the attention of organized labor from industrial disputes to the po-litical outlook for the bill itself. The capitalists, without ex-ception, are opposed to the bill, while the opinions of the prole-tarian parties are divided. The left group, the Farm Labor Party, scorns it; the right wing, the Social Democrats, wel-comes it on the whole; and the center bloc, the Great Prole-tarians so-called, is agitating for its own plan. The Home Minister says the bill is good since no one is entirely satisfied.

It is apparent, however, that labor is better satisfied than capital. It is as liberal a bill as labor can possibly hope for for long years to come. It is as liberal as the British Trade Union Act of 1913. It incorporates the British Trade Disputes Act of 1906 (freeing labor from indemnity for damage caused by trade disputes), which in Britain was obtained after the famous Taff-Vale case of 1902. It virtually permits profes-sional labor leaders to become members of trade unions. Since professionals are interested in politics as well as in trade dis-putes, the funds of unions will naturally be used for political ends as well as for strikes. When funds are available they are even now so used.

That means that the British Trade Union Act of 1913 which grew out of the famous Osburn judgment is incorpo-rated. It is even more liberal than the British Act, since it prohibits employers to discriminate against trade-union men. In a country like Britain where the trade-union movement is fully developed such a provision is not necessary. Labor can protect itself. But in the proposed Japanese bill this protection to trade unionism is to be accorded by legislative action in ad-vance of actual development. In favor of this provision it may be said that it will minimize chances of trade disputes arising from employers' discriminatory actions. But it will, of course, be resented by capitalists.

These points, freeing labor from indemnity, the inclusion of professional labor leaders, and denying employers' freedom to discriminate against trade-union men, constitute the principal objections to the bill from the capitalists' point of view. But from labor's point of view these three principles are vital for the recognition of trade unionism. If Labor has to pay for damages arising from a strike, trade unionism as an influence against capital supremacy will be practically nil. The develop-ment of professional leaders is an automatic phenomenon. If they do not come from outside they will arise from within the rank and file of workers. It is obvious that trade unions, like any other organization, must be led and that in the light of the development actually taking place in this country leader-ship is political as well as industrial. The last is even more vital for the recognition of trade unionism. If this protection against discriminatory treatment is not accorded by legislative act, labor will fight for it anyway and it may be a long, bitter, and unnecessary struggle.

Capitalist objections will be more logical if not directed so much against the details of the bill as against trade unionism itself as an instrument of industrial dispute. And in fact it is against this role of trade unionism that capitalists are object-ing. They say that it encourages class warfare. The first clause of the Home Minister's bill defines trade unionism as an instrument of bettering conditions of workers. Capitalists object to this clause. That is tantamount to objecting to trade unionism. They would like to substitute capital and labor harmonization societies for trade unions. But the Home Minister condemns this appeal of capitalists as reactionary and as an incentive to class struggle.

In other words, capitalists still stick to the so-called pater-nalistic conception of the relations between capital and labor, but the government, as represented by Mr. Adachi, whose main consideration is to weigh what effect his policy will have on elections, has outgrown that conception. His political vision is that paternalism is reactionary and unpopular. It is a signifi-cant development.

But the ultimate object of the state must be the harmoni-zation of the relations between capital and labor. Trade union-ism as an instrument of industrial dispute must, after all, be a transitory and secondary consideration. Unless it is going to lead to a proletarian revolution it must arrive at a new stage of harmonization between capital and labor. Each country must decide in the light of its own special industrial, social, cultural, and other conditions what method will be best adapted to bring about the desired end. There are great differences betwen this country and Britain not only in social and cultural traditions but in industrial structure and development. There are on the one hand great masses of workers still working ac-cording to the old tradition in industries that are little de-veloped beyond the family scale. All agricultural and most manufacturing industries belong to this category. On the other hand, there are in Japan more nationalized industries than in any other country. The standard of living is also immensely different. A country where the population is still increasing

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at the rate of 700,000 a year cannot be talked of in the same breath with a country where the population has become stationary.

The old view may be losing ground. But there may still be something in it that is worth preserving and can be made to fit the changing circumstances. To say the least, it is not very ingenuous to follow blindly in the British footsteps. Why cannot trade unionism, as we know it in the long dark industrial history of Britain, be substituted by something nearer the desired stage we wish to bring about? The proposed bill is in advance of actual development in its liberalism. Why should we not go a step farther and draw up a program of harmonization?

But Mr. Adachi may after all be proposing the bill for his own gain and for his party in obtaining the credit for being liberal and not seriously expecting that it will have a chance to appear in the next session of the Diet. There is something mysterious in the abrupt way in which be began to advocate it. He is a political wizard.

It is very unlikely that the proposed trade-union bill will become law. It is very doubtful if it will have a chance to be introduced in the next session of the Diet. Even if it should be, and should pass the Lower House, it is almost certain that the Upper House will reject or shelve it.

We need not look so far ahead. The opinion of the Minseito itself is by no means unanimous in its favor. The Home Minister, Mr. Adachi, is now inclined to see the need of revising it. The opinion of capitalists is determined while Labor is not enthusiastic. The liberal part of public opinion supports it, but it is a lukewarm support amounting to no more than an academic interest at present. It is probably an academic interest more than anything else that inspired officials of the Social Work Bureau, who drafted it, and the Home Minister, who is not well versed in such matters, allowed himself to be tempted by the possible popularity which the bill might bring to his party. The chances of the bill becoming law are negligible.

Apart from this, the bill contains some suggestions of serious implication, and it is these suggestions that capitalists are afraid of. They are determinedly objecting to the general spirit of the bill, which does not prescribe forms of labor organizations to be recognized as lawful, and therefore admits by implication a kind of organization known as "industrial unionism," to which our labor movement will easily tend if left unrestricted. They further object to three points in particular: freeing labor from indemnity (article 13); allowing virtually the participating of professional labor agitators and brokers (article 10); and prohibiting discrimination against union men (articles 11 and 12).

Capitalist apprehension cannot be dismissed as altogether groundless. If this bill becomes law it is not unlikely that the labor-union movement will widely spread. The present strength of organized labor, which is 300,000, may in a few months jump up to 1,000,000. Nothing more than a simple procedure of registration will be needed to enrol union men entitled to all the major protections which labor has struggled for in other countries under incomparably more favorable economic conditions than in this country. All that is needed is labor canvassers, but they exist in abundance now. It will offer a fine field of employment for jobless intellectuals equipped with Marxian doctrines.

If such trade-union laws had existed, the recent Kanegafuchi strike would have become a general strike of all the cotton-mill workers throughout the country. The recent strike of car operators might also have become a general transportation strike throughout the country. Since the labor unions are to be created prematurely by a legislative act in advance of actual economic development, they would not have sufficient funds for strikes, which would not be orderly. They woul try to achieve their object by breaking into sentimental demor strations bordering on riot. That is the characteristic of Jap: nese labor strikes even now. While they are on a small sca and localized, their disorderly tendency can be effectively pr vented, but what if the strikes become nation-wide? The ger eral economic situation of the country does not offer muc room for the general improvement of working conditions. Th wider the extent of a strike, the less chance there is for ma terial gain on the part of the workers involved.

This apprehension of capitalists is to be reckoned witl The defenders of the bill contend that disorderly tendencies ar provided against by the peace-preservation law. They als point out that although discrimination against union men i prohibited no penal clause is attached. That is why labor i suspicious and the left wing looks scornfully at it. It amount to no more than a moral exhortation, which capitalists woul openly defy. If capitalists defy it and labor appeals to the gov ernment what can be done?

The defenders of the bill contend further that although th forms of labor organizations are not prescribed, the governmen is at liberty to dissolve any organization deemed injurious t peace (article 17) and that since unions are required to mak a report of their financial conditions and membership (arti cle 14) the government can exercise in this way a proper dis criminatory treatment against objectionable organizations Why does the state accord labor recognition and protectio if it has no intention of abiding by it in practice? If the trade union movement can grow automatically by its merit or power there is no law in this country to prevent its growth. Either the proposed bill is an encouragement to labor at the expense of capital or it is meaningless. One presumable result of it will be a rapid spread of the trade-union movement. A weapon cannot be given without implying some encouragement for its use. Why should the government sow the seeds of trouble it is really anxious to suppress? Is not the proposed bill a blunder even considered from a purely technical point of view?

But the liberally inclined officials of the Social Work Bureau must have drafted the bill in good faith. They are surely not biased friends of labor. They meant no harm to capital. They are under the spell of Western liberal influence in advance of the actual development in this country. That is all. Liberalism is always justifiable as an abstract principle. Whether it is practically good or not depends on its probable practical consequences.

The test of the present case comes to this: will the bill stabilize the labor movement of this country in the direction of liberal development, or will it aggravate the present labor unrest? The defenders of the bill can abstractly make for it all the pleas of fairness, but it is hard to visualize what fair practical consequences will result from it. We must consider the practical situations in which the bill will react.

We know that labor is distrustful of rationalization and will oppose it wherever it can. We know that the moderate leadership of the old Japan General Labor Federation type is unpopular among the rank and file of workers and new professional labor leaders are revolutionists with Marxian doctrines at their finger tips, whose ardent belief is that capitalism is coming to an end. They are not so much interested in the particular material uplift of a section of the workers as in the general awakening of class-consciousness.

It is hard to imagine that liberal consequences will develop out of the bill applied to such practical situations. One way for liberalism to destroy itself is to attempt to put its ideals into practice too far in advance of the actual situation. If a Fascist revolution is contemplated in this country the proposed trade-union bill may be one effective way to bring it about.

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